

T H E LONDON MAGAZINE.

NOVEMBER, 1733.

PROCEEDINGS *and* DEBATES in the last Session of Parliament;
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THE House of Commons having gone into that Committee which introduced the Excise-Scheme, on *March 14*, as mention'd in our last; (See p. 493.)

The Debate of that important Day was open'd by Mr C——r of the E——r, as follows:

Sir, As I had the Honour to move for the House's resolving itself into this Committee, I think it incumbent on me to open to you what was then intended to be propos'd for your Consideration. We are now in a Committee for considering of the most proper Methods for the better Security and Improvement of the Duties and Revenues already charged upon, and payable from Tobacco and Wines: This can be done in no Way so proper, as that of preventing for the future those Frauds by which the publick Revenues have been so much injured in Times past. I know, that whoever attempts to remedy Frauds, attempts a Thing, very disagreeable to all who have been guilty of them, or who expect a Benefit by such in Time to come. This, Sir, I am fully sensible of, and from this have sprung all those Clamours rais'd without Doors against what I am now to propose. The Smugglers, the fraudulent Dealers, and those who have for many Years been enriching themselves by cheating their Country, foresaw, that if the Scheme I am now to propose took Effect, that profitable Trade would be at an End; this gave them the Alarm, and from them I am perswaded, all those Clamours have originally proceeded.

In this 'tis certain they have been most strenuously assisted by another Set of People, who, from Motives much worse, and of

A much more dangerous Consequence, are fond of improving every Opportunity for stirring up the People of *Great Britain* to Mutiny and Sedition. But, Sir, notwithstanding all the Clamours that such wicked and deceitful Men have been able to raise, as the Scheme I have to propose will be a great Improvement to the publick Revenue, an Improvement of 2 or 300,000*l. per Ann.* and perhaps more, and as it will likewise be of great Advantage to the fair Trader, I thought it my Duty, not only as being in the Station I am in, but also as a Member of this House, to lay it before you; for no such Clamours shall ever deter me from doing what I think is my Duty, or from proposing any Thing that I am convinced will be of such signal Benefit to the Revenue, and to the Trade of my Country.

It has been most industriously spread abroad, that the Scheme I am now to propose, was a Scheme for a General Excise; but I aver no such Scheme ever enter'd into my Head, nor, for what I know, into the Head of any Man I am acquainted with: My Thoughts were always confin'd solely to those two Branches of the Revenue arising from the Duties on Wine and Tobacco, and it was the frequent Advices I had of the notorious Frauds committed in them, and the Clamours even of some of the Merchants themselves, that made me turn my Thoughts particularly towards those two Branches, in order to find out, if possible, some Remedy for the growing Evil; what I am now to propose will, I believe, if agreed to, be an effectual Remedy; but if I now fail in it, it will be the last Attempt of this Kind I shall ever make; I believe it will be the last that will ever be made, either by me or by any that shall succeed me in the Station I am now in.

538 PROCEEDINGS, &c. in the last Session of Parliament.

At present, Sir, I shall lay before you only the Case with respect to the Tobacco-Trade, and the Revenue arising therefrom; and here it will be necessary first to consider the Condition of our Planters of Tobacco in *America*; if we can give any Credit to what they themselves say, we must conclude that they are reduced almost to the last Extremity, even almost to a State of Despair, by the many Frauds committed in that Trade, by the heavy Duties the Importers of Tobacco are obliged to pay upon Importation, and by the ill Usage they have met with from their Factors and Correspondents here in *England*, who from being their Servants are now become their Lords and Masters. These poor People have sent home many Representations of the bad State of their Affairs, and have lately sent over a Gentleman with a Remonstrance setting forth their Grievances, and praying for some speedy Relief: This they may obtain by Means of the Scheme I intend now to propose, and I believe it is from this Scheme only that they can expect any Relief.

The next Thing we are to consider, is the State of the Tobacco-Trade, with Regard to the fair Trader; the Man who deals fairly with the Publick, as well as with private Men, the Man who honestly pays all those Duties which the Publick is justly entitled to, finds himself forestalled almost in every Market within the Island, by the Smuggler and the fraudulent Dealer; and even as to our foreign Trade in Tobacco, those who have no Regard to Honour, to Religion, or to the Welfare of their Country, but are every Day contriving Ways and Means for cheating the Publick by Perjuries and false Entries, are the greatest Gainers; and it will always be so, unless we can fall upon some Way of putting it out of their Power to carry on any such Frauds for the future.

And lastly, Sir, we ought to consider the great Loss sustained by the Publick, by means of the Frauds committed in the Tobacco-Trade, and the Addition that must certainly be made to the publick Revenue, if those Frauds can be prevented. By this Addition we may be enabled to relieve the Nation from some of those Taxes it has labour'd under so many Years; whereas, as the Case now stands, the innocent and the honest Part of the Nation are charged with Taxes which they would be free from, if the fraudulent Dealers and Smugglers could be any Way obliged to pay that which is justly due by them to the Publick. This, Sir, will, I am convinced, be the Effect of the Scheme I am to propose to you, and whoever therefore views it in its proper Light, must see the Planters, the fair Traders, and the Publick ranged upon one Side in Favour of it; and none but the unfair Traders and the Tobacco-Factors upon the other.

I shall beg Leave to mention to you, Sir, some of those Frauds which have come to my Knowledge. The Evidence I have had of them is to me very convincing: But in such Cases Gentlemen ought always to consider what Evidence it is impossible to bring, what Evidence it is by the Nature of the Thing unreasonable to expect.

A Then he went thro' and gave a most exact Account of the several Frauds practised of late Years in the Tobacco-Trade, from which he made Calculations of the Loss the Publick thereby sustained, particularly that of getting the Tobacco weighed at an under Weight upon Importation, and getting it weighed again upon Exportation at a Weight much above what it ought to be: A particular Instance of this Fraud, (says he) we came lately to the Knowledge of by mere Accident: One *Midford*, who had been a considerable Tobacco-Merchant in the City, happened to fail, when he ow'd a large Sum of Money upon Bond to the Crown, whereupon an Extent was issued out immediately against him, and thereby the Government got Possession of all his Books, by which the Fraud he had been guilty of was discovered; for it appeared, as may be seen by one of his Books I have in my Hand, (whereupon he shew'd one of this *Midford's* Books to the Committee) that upon the Column where the false Quantities which had been entered at the Importation, by Collusion between him and the Officer, by which he paid or bonded the Duty payable upon Importation, a Slip of Paper had been so artfully pasted on that it could not be discovered; and upon this Slip were written the real Quantities which were entered, because he was obliged to produce the same Book when that Tobacco was entered for Exportation; but then upon Exportation the Tobacco was entered and weighed according to the Quantities marked upon this Slip so artfully pasted on as I have mentioned, by which he got a Drawback, or his Bonds retired, to near double the Value of what he had actually paid Duty for upon Importation. Yet, Sir, this *Midford* was as honest a Man and as fair a Trader as any in *London*; I desire not to be misunderstood, I mean that before he failed, before these Frauds came to be discovered, he was always reckoned as honest a Man and as fair a Trader as any in *London*, or any other Part of the Nation.

E After this he mentioned the several Frauds following, viz. That of Re-landing the Tobacco after it was shipped off for Exportation. That of Socking of Tobacco, a Cant-Word used for smuggling it out of the Ships after their Arrival in the River, before they were unloaded at the Custom-House. That of stripping the Leaves from the Stalks, and afterwards splitting and pressing the Stalks by an Engine contrived for that Purpose, and then exporting them.

them. That of giving Bonds for the Duty payable upon Importation, whereby the Government had lost several large Sums by the Failure of Payment of such Bonds. That of the rich Moneyed-Men making Prompt-Payments, by which the Publick was obliged to allow them ten per Cent. Discount as to the Duties, and by entering the Tobacco soon after for Exportation, they drew back the whole Duties, so that the Government actually lost ten per Cent. upon all the Tobacco that had been so entered.

These Frauds, Sir, (says he) are notorious; and as the laws of the Customs have been found ineffectual to prevent such Frauds, therefore it is proposed to add the Laws of Excise to the Laws of the Customs, and by Means of both it is probable, it is I may say certain, that all such Frauds will be prevented in Time to come.

The several Subsidies and Imposts now payable upon Tobacco, by several Acts of Parliament for that Purpose made, stand, Sir, thus; (*here he went thro', and gave an Account of the several Acts of Parliament for laying Duties on Tobacco; then he went on*) By all which, Sir, it appears that the Duties now payable upon Tobacco on Importation amount to 6d. and one third Part of a Penny per Pound Weight, all which must be paid down in ready Money upon Importation, with the Allowance of ten per Cent. upon Prompt-payment; or otherways there must be Bonds given with sufficient Sureties for the Payment thereof, which is often a great Loss to the Publick, and is always a great Inconvenience to the Merchant-Importer; whereas by what I am to propose, the whole Duties to be paid for the future will amount to no more than 4d. and three Farthings per Pound-Weight, and this Duty not to be paid till the Tobacco comes to be sold for Home-Consumption; so that if the Merchant exports his Tobacco, he will be quite free from all Payment of Duty, or giving Bond therefor, or finding out proper Sureties for joining with him in such Bond; he will have nothing to do but to reload his Tobacco on board a Ship for Exportation, without being at the Trouble to attend for having his Bonds cancelled, or for taking out Debentures for the Drawbacks; all which I conceive, Sir, must be a great Ease to the fair Trader; and to every such Trader the preventing of Frauds must be a great Advantage, because it will put all the Tobacco-Traders in Britain upon the same Footing, which is but just and equal, and what ought to be accomplished, if possible.

Now, Sir, in Order to make this Ease effectual to the fair Trader, and to contribute to his Advantage by preventing as much as possible any Frauds in Time to come, I propose, as I have said, to join the Laws of Excise to those of the Customs, and to leave

the one Penny, or rather three Farthings per Pound, called the further Subsidy, to be still charged at the Custom-House upon the Importation of any Tobacco, which three Farthings shall be payable to his Majesty's Civil List as heretofore; and I propose that all Tobacco for the future, after being weighed at the Custom-House and charged with the said three Farthings per Pound, shall be lodged in a Warehouse, or Warehouses to be appointed by the Commissioners of the Excise for that Purpose, of which Warehouse the Merchant-Importer shall have one Lock and Key, and the Warehouse-Keeper to be appointed by the said Commissioners shall have another, in Order that the Tobacco may lie safe in that Warehouse till the Merchant finds a Market for it, either for Exportation or for Home-Consumption: That if his Market be for Exportation, he may apply to his Warehouse-Keeper and take out as much for that Purpose as he has Occasion for, which when weighed at the Custom-House shall be discharged of the three Farthings per Pound with which it was charged upon Importation, so that the Merchant may then export it without any further Trouble: But if his Market be for Home-Consumption, that he shall then pay the three Farthings charged upon it at the Custom-House upon Importation, and that then upon calling his Warehouse-Keeper he may deliver it to the Buyer, on paying an Inland-Duty of 4d. per Pound-Weight to the proper Officer appointed to receive the same.

And whereas, Sir, all the Penalties and Forfeitures to become due by the Laws now in Being for regulating the Collecting of the Duties on Tobacco, or at least all that Part of them which is not given to the Informers, now belong to the Crown, I now propose that all such Penalties and Forfeitures, in so far as they formerly belonged to the Crown, shall for the future belong to the Publick, and be applicable to the same Uses to which the said Duties shall be made applicable by Parliament; and for that Purpose I have his Majesty's Commands to acquaint this House, that he, out of his great Regard for the Publick Good, with Pleasure consents that they shall be so applied, which is a Condescension in his Majesty, that I hope every Gentleman in this House is fully sensible of, and will freely acknowledge.

I know, Sir, there has been an Objection made, I expect to hear it again made in this House, against what I now propose, *viz.* that a great many of his Majesty's Subjects will be subjected to being tried in a Multitude of Cases by the Commissioners of Excise, from whom there is no Appeal, but to Commissioners of Appeal, or to Justices of Peace in the Country, all named by the King and removable at Pleasure, from whom

the Appellants cannot expect to meet with any Justice or Redress. I am far from thinking there is any Ground for this Complaint, or that any Man ever had a just Reason to say that he was unjustly dealt with, either by the Commissioners of Appeal, or by the Justices of the Peace at their Quarter-Sessions; but in Order to obviate any Objection of this Nature, I propose that all Appeals in this Case, as well as in all other Cases relating to the Excise, shall for the future be heard and determined by two or three of the Judges to be named by his Majesty, out of the Twelve belonging to *Westminster-Hall*; and that in the Country all Appeals from the first Sentence of the Justices of the Peace, shall be to the Judge of Assize upon the next Circuit, who shall in all Cases proceed to hear and determine such Appeals in the most summary Way, without the Formality of Proceedings in Courts of Law or Equity. From such Judges, Sir, and from such a Manner of Proceeding, every Man must expect to meet with the utmost Dispatch, and the most impartial Justice, and therefore I must think, that what I now propose can be no Inconvenience to those who may thereby be subjected to the Laws of Excise, but that if there was formerly any ground of Complaint, it may be a great Relief to those who are already subjected to such Laws.

This, Sir, is the Scheme which has been represented in such a terrible Light: This, Sir, is the Monster, that many-headed Monster, which was to devour the People and to commit such Ravages over the whole Nation. How justly it has been represented in such a Light, I shall leave it to this Committee and to the whole World without Doors to judge. I have said, Sir, I will say it again, that whatever Apprehensions and Terrors People may have been brought under from a false and malicious Representation of what they neither did nor could know or understand, I am firmly persuaded, when they come fully to understand the Scheme I have now open'd to you, they will view it in another Light; and that if it has the good Fortune to be approved of by Parliament, and come to take Effect, the People will soon feel the happy Consequences thereof, and when they feel those good Effects, they will no longer think those People their Friends, who have so grossly imposed on their Understandings.

I look upon it, Sir, as a most innocent Scheme; I am convinced it can be hurtful to none but Smugglers and unfair Traders; I am certain it will be of great Benefit to the publick Revenue; and if I had thought otherwise of it, I never would have ventured to have proposed it in this Place; therefore, Sir, I shall now beg Leave to move, that it may be resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Subsidy and additional Duty

upon Tobacco of the *British* Plantations granted by an Act of the 12th of K. Charles II. and the Impast thereon, granted by an Act of the first of K. James II. and also the one third Subsidy thereon, granted by an Act of the 2d of Q. Anne, (amounting in the Whole to five Pence and one third Part of a Penny per Pound) for several Terms of Years in the said respective Acts mentioned, and which have since been continued and made perpetual, subject to Redemption by Parliament, shall, from and after the 24th Day of June 1733, cease and determine.

Upon this Speech and Motion ensued the grand Debate, in which the following Gentlemen spoke in Substance, as follows, viz.

B Mr. A—n P—y. Sir, The Hon. Gentleman on the Floor has taken up a great deal of Time, in stating a great Number and Variety of Facts, and in drawing Conclusions, and making Calculations upon the Supposition that every one of those Facts was exactly as he has represented them to us. This, Sir, I cannot entirely agree with the Gentleman in, for if all those Facts were exactly as he has represented them, and if all the Computations he has made upon that Supposition were just, that Quantity of Tobacco, the Duties of which the Publick is thereby supposed to be entirely defrauded of, would amount to a much greater Quantity yearly than grows in the whole Country from which we fetch that Commodity. I did not expect, Sir, to have heard such a long Detail of Facts, or so many particular Computations. I do not think it at all necessary on the present Occasion; I expected that the Gentleman would have taken a much more general and a more just Method. I thought he would have stated to us the Quantity of Tobacco yearly imported, the Quantity yearly exported, and would have given us the best Proofs that could be found for justifying his Computations in that Respect, because from thence every Man might have easily seen what Quantity remained for Home-Consumption, and what Sum of Money that would have yearly brought in if the Duties had been all regularly paid; and upon comparing that with what those Duties have amounted to for some Years past, we might have made some Guess of the Value of the Frauds committed, and of the Advantage that may accrue to the Publick, supposing all Frauds were to have been by his Scheme prevented in Time to come.

G This, Sir, is the only Way of coming at any certain Knowledge of the Affair before us; but I am afraid if we should consider it in this Way, we would find that the Scheme now proposed would be of no such mighty Advantage to the publick Revenue as has been represented, even supposing all Frauds were for the future to be thereby prevented; and considering that no Method of Collection,

no Pains or Penalties, that can be contrived, can be supposed effectual for preventing every Fraud that may be invented and set on foot; we would have found no great Temptation for agreeing to any Scheme by which the Liberties of our Country may be brought into the least Danger, for the Sake of any Advantage we could suppose would thereby have accrued to the Revenue. That there are Frauds in the Tobacco-trade, I shall never deny, I make no Doubt but there are too many Frauds committed in that Trade as well as in every other Branch of the Revenue: But upon a fair State of the Case, I am sure they cannot amount to near that Value which the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to mention; and therefore I shall beg Leave to examine a little those particular Frauds and Calculations which have been mention'd by him.

Here he went thro' and examined all the Frauds that had been mentioned, and all the Computations that had been made; more particularly as to the Bonds he said, It has been pretended, Sir, that the Publick has sustain'd and are still in Danger of sustaining great Losses by the Method of granting Bonds for the Duties payable on Tobacco: This, Sir, I had before heard hinted at by the Hon. Gentleman, and therefore I have lately had a Meeting with several of the Merchants in London trading in Tobacco: We have examined that Affair, and I can now tell that Gentleman, that I have it in Commission from them to propose, that if the Government will give us a Discount but of 20,000*l.* we will give undeniable Security for the Payment of all the Bonds they are now possessed of, which are not become desperate by the Bondsmen being already gone off, or become Bankrupts.

As to that Fraud called Socking, it has been already discovered, and is I hope prevented. But, Sir, it is well known, that it was the Merchants that discovered it, the Merchants complained of it to the Commissioners of the Customs, and joined and assisted the Officers of the Customs in putting an effectual Stop thereto. This I must know, because I had the Honour to go at the Head of several Merchants trading in Tobacco, to the Commissioners of the Customs, to request of them that we might be allowed to give a Gratuity to one of their Officers, who had been most instrumental in the detecting and preventing of that Fraud, and accordingly I myself, Sir, paid that Officer a very handsome Sum, which we all thought his Diligence and Integrity very well deserved.

As to the Frauds committed at the Weighing of the Tobacco either on Importation or Exportation, I am afraid they are too frequent; but as the Tobacco is always weighed on the publick Custom-house Keys, where Customhouse Officers swarm like Bees before a Beehive, and as there must be two or three

Officers of the Customs, attending and over-looking the weighing of every Cask of Tobacco, we cannot suppose these Frauds were ever so enormous as they are represented to be. Whatever Frauds are committed in that Way must be either by the Neglect or the Collusion of the Officers, and I cannot see how the Scheme now proposed will make the Officers either of the Customs or the Excise more diligent in their Duty or faithful to their Trust than they were heretofore. As to the re-landing of Tobacco after it has been entered for Exportation, it was never pretended that that was practised at the Port of London, nor can it be pretended that any great Quantities of such Tobacco were ever consumed in London: That is a Practice that may perhaps have been frequent in the Northern Parts of the Island, and in some distant Creeks and Corners of the Coast, and while there is such a vast Disproportion between the prime Cost and the Duties on Tobacco, I may prophesy that in such remote Places this will always be a Practice: It could not be prevented by ten Times the Number of Officers we have, even tho' we had a much more numerous Army, to support them than we have at present. And as for the Stripping, Cutting, and Pressing the Stalks, and the Engine that has been invented for that Purpose, if the Hon. Gentleman mention'd it as a Fraud, or as a late Discovery, he mistakes it very much; on the contrary, it is no Fraud, nor is it a late Discovery; it is a Business that has been openly, honestly and publickly carried on for many Years; that has improved our Tobacco-Trade, and is as common and as well known as the Business of a Woollen or a Linnen-Draper.

Permit me now, Sir, to take some Notice of the Tobacco-Planters, and of the Hardships they are laid under by their Factors, who are it seems now become their Lords and Masters. I am sure none of them ever thought of complaining till they were put upon it by Letters and Applications from hence. There are Hardships in all Trades, which Men must submit to, or give up their Business; but every Man that understands the Tobacco-Trade must see, that the Hardships the Factors labour under, are by much the most numerous and grievous; and if this Scheme should take Effect, they will become so grievous, that no Man would be able to continue in the Trade, by which the Planters would be entirely undone, and the Trade quite lost to this Nation; for it will be impossible for them to manage their Plantations, or to send their Produce to Britain, without having some considerable Merchants settled there, to send Ships to receive the same in America, to receive and dispose of it after it is landed here, and to supply them with ready Money till their Tobacco can be brought to a proper Market. As to the Remonstrance mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman, to have been lately sent over

over by the Tobacco-Planters, I know, Sir, that it was obtained by Letters sent from hence, and I believe many who joined in it, now heartily repent of what they have done; it was drawn up in the Form of a Petition to this House, and was designed to have been presented, but it seems the Promoters of it have thought better of the Matter: However, that it was obtained in the unfair Manner I have represented, I am now ready to prove to the Conviction of the whole World.

This then being the Case, as the Scheme now proposed cannot be of any great Benefit to the publick Revenue, as it will be so far from being an Advantage to the fair Trader, or to the honest Planter, that it may probably ruin both, and destroy our Tobacco Trade; tho' I and all honest Men, (and I defy that Hon. Gentleman, I defy the whole World to reproach me with one unfair Practice, in the whole Course of my Life) I say, Sir, tho' I and all honest Men wish from our Hearts that Frauds may be prevented in this as well as in every other Branch of the Revenue, yet I cannot give my Assent to a Proposition that may be of so dangerous Consequence; a Proposition which I look upon to be inconsistent with our Constitution; I am convinced it would prove a most fatal Stroke to the Liberties of my Country, which will, I doubt not, be made plainly appear by other Gentlemen, of much greater Abilities than mine; and to every Man who has a Regard for his Country, or for the People he represents, this last must be a sufficient Reason for being against it, even tho' it were otherways the most beneficial Scheme that had ever been proposed.

But, Sir, since I look upon my being a Member of this House, as the greatest Glory of my Life, since I look upon that Day on which I was chose one of the Representatives of the City of London, as the most auspicious Day of my whole Life, I cannot tamely sit still and hear the whole Body of the Merchants of that great City represented by that Hon. Gentleman as a Pack of Rogues, Smugglers, and unfair Traders. It is a Treatment they no way deserve, it is a very odd, a very unkind Sort of Treatment, and such a Treatment as I am sure they never will forget, I believe they never will forgive.

Sir P—M—n, Representative for the Bor. of B—y in Northamptonshire, said; Sir, when I first heard of this Scheme, I was in the Country, and there I must say it had been represented in such a Light, as created a general Dislike to it, and raised great Apprehensions in the Minds of most People. It was represented as a Scheme for introducing a general Excise; such a Scheme I own I would not allow myself to think was contrived or approved of by any Gentleman in the Administration; I did imagine that all

those in the Administration, were very well convinced that a General Excise was what the People of England would never quietly submit to, and therefore I would not allow myself to believe that any of them would ever countenance a Scheme which had the least Tendency that Way: But now, Sir, after having heard it opened, and fully explained, by the Hon. Gentleman on the Floor, I cannot but think that it is a wide Step towards establishing a General Excise upon the People, and therefore I must be excused in giving my Dissent to it.

In so far as it relates to Trade, with which it certainly has a very close Connection, I shall leave to be explained by others, more conversant in those Affairs than I am; and as to how far it may be a Remedy for the Frauds mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman, I will not take upon me to say; but there is another Concern, which I shall always, while I have the Honour to sit in this House, have a particular Eye to, and that is, Sir, the Liberty of my Country. The Danger which this Scheme seems to threaten to the Liberty of many of my Fellow-Subjects, is alone of sufficient Force to make me give my Negative to the Question moved for. Let Gentlemen but reflect, let them but cast their Eyes back on the several Laws that have been made since the Revolution, they will there find, that there has been already more Power vested in the Crown than may be thought altogether consistent with the Constitution of a free Country; and therefore, Sir, I hope this House will never think of adding to that Power, which there may be some Ground to suspect to be already too far extended.

The Laws of Excise, Sir, have always been look'd on as most grievous to the Subject: All those already subjected to such Laws, are in my Opinion in so far depriv'd of their Liberty; and since by this Scheme, a great many more of his Majesty's faithful Subjects are to be subjected to those arbitrary Laws, let the Advantages accruing to the Publick from it, be never so great or so many, they will be purchased at too dear a Rate, if they are purchased at the Expence of the Liberty of the meanest of his Majesty's Subjects; for even the meanest Man in the Nation, has as natural and as good a Right to his Liberty, as the greatest Man in this or in any other Kingdom.

Let us, Sir, but take a View of our neighbouring Nations in Europe, they were all once free, the People of every one of them had once as many Liberties and Privileges to boast of, as we have now, but at present they are most of them reduc'd to a State of Slavery, they have no Liberty, no Property, no Law, nor any Thing that they can depend on. Let us enquire into the Methods, by which they were deprived of their Liberties, and we shall find a very near Resemblance between those Methods and the Scheme now propos'd. Al-

most in every Country, the Liberties of the People have been destroyed under Pretence of preserving, or of rescuing the People from some great Evil, to which it was pretended they were exposed; this, Sir, is the very Case now before us; in order to enable the Crown to prevent some little Frauds pretended to have been committed in the antient Method of collecting the publick Revenue, it is proposed to put such a Power in the Hands of the Crown, as may enable some future Prince to enslave the whole Nation. This, Sir, is really the Light in which this Scheme appears to me, but to the Hon. Gentleman who proposed it to us, I am persuaded, it appears in a quite different Light, otherways I am certain he would never have proposed it: However, Sir, since the Generality of the Nation have already shewn a great Dislike to it; I therefore hope the Hon. Gentleman may be prevailed on to delay it till another Session of Parliament; in such a Delay there can be no Danger, there can be no great Loss to the Publick, more especially, since the Money to be thereby raised, is not so much as proposed to be apply'd to the current Services of this present Year. If it be delay'd till another Session, Gentlemen will then have Time to consider it fully, and to consult with their Constituents about it; by that Time it may possibly appear in a quite different Light, both to me and to many other Gentlemen without Doors as well as within, and then if upon Examination it appears to be as good a Thing as some Gentlemen now seem to believe, it will without Doubt be approved of by the Generality without as well as by the Majority within.

But, Sir, I hope those Gentlemen who have now so good an Opinion of the Scheme, will not think of thrusting it down People's Throats, when they see that the Generality of the Nation have an Opinion of it quite different from what they have; such an Attempt might produce Consequences which I tremble to think of; and this, Sir, is another Motive which is of great Weight with me; I have the Honour to know his Majesty, his Royal Person I have formerly had the Honour to approach, and I know him to be a Prince of so much Goodness, that were this Scheme represented in this Light to him, he never would approve of it; to him it will always be a sufficient Reason against any Proposition, that the Generality of his People have shewn their Dislike to it. I love his Majesty, I have a sincere and a dutiful Respect for him and all his Royal Family, and therefore I shall always be afraid of any Thing that may alienate the Affections of many of his faithful Subjects, which I believe would be the certain Consequence of the present Establishment of this Scheme; for which Reasons, Sir, if the Question be now pushed, I shall most heartily give my Negative to it.

Mr. A—y G—I. Sir, after the Hon. Gentleman by me had opened in a Manner so full and so clear, a Scheme which had met with so unfair and so ungenerous a Treatment, before those who treated it so could know any Thing about it, I little expected that the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, or any Gentleman in this Committee, could have so far mistaken it as to have taken it in the Light they now do. In my Opinion, Sir, the Debate is now put upon a Footing very different from what it ought to be; what can the Affair now before us have to do with our Constitution? There can be nothing supposed to be in the Proposition made by my Hon. Friend, that can in the least tend towards incroaching on our Constitution, or affecting the Liberty of the Subject. The only Consideration at present before us is, whether we shall allow those gross Frauds and Abuses formerly committed in the Tobacco-Trade to be still carried on with Impunity, or if we shall accept of a Remedy which by effectually preventing these Frauds for the future, will considerably improve the publick Revenue, will be of great Advantage to the fair Trader, and of singular Use and Benefit to the whole Nation?

This, Sir, is the plain Question now before us, and if it be consider'd in its proper Light, without confounding it with other Matters with which it has no Relation, I am sure it cannot admit of any Debate. The Hon. Gentleman in opening this Affair to us, made it so manifest, that there have been great Frauds in that Branch of Trade, and that the preventing of those Frauds would be a great Improvement to the publick Revenue, that what he advanced upon that Head, has not been opposed or contradicted: And this House has been upon all Occasions so very careful of the publick Revenues, and has been always so ready to agree to any Measures for preventing Abuses in the collecting of them, that I cannot help thinking that the Dislike that appears against the Remedy now proposed, must proceed from some other Motives than Gentlemen are willing to own.

It is certain, Sir, that by the Frauds and Abuses in this Branch of the Revenue, not only the Publick is cheated of what is due to them, but likewise every private Consumer is most grossly imposed on, for he pays the same Price as if the Duties had actually been paid to the Publick. He pays a high Price for what he consumes, but then he has this for his Comfort, that he thinks a great Part goes towards the publick Good of his Country, but in all fraudulent Trade he is imposed on, the high Price he pays goes every Farthing of it into the Pocket of the fraudulent Dealer. This then being plainly the Case, I should think that the Gentlemen, who are to oppose this Scheme, would endeavour to shew us, that no such Frauds as are pretended have been

been committed, or that they are so inconsiderable that they are not worth minding, or that what is now proposed would be no Sort of Remedy for them; but upon the present Question, to talk of our Constitution, seems really to me to be a Sort of Insinuation as if Frauds, in the Collecting of the Revenue, were become a Part of our Constitution, and that whoever attempts to remedy them must attempt something against our Constitution: And as to the Liberty of the Subject, it is not possible for me to find out any Liberty that can be struck at by the Scheme now before us, but the Liberty of Smuggling; for as to that Liberty which has always been, and I hope always will be the Glory of these Kingdoms, it is certain that our publick Revenues are its greatest Security: How then can that Scheme be said to tend towards the destroying of Liberty, which so evidently tends towards the Improvement of that upon which our Liberty manifestly depends?

As to the raising of Clamours and Disaffection among his Majesty's faithful Subjects, there can be no Reason for apprehending any such Thing from the Scheme now proposed: Whatever Clamours may have been unjustly raised by ill-designing Men against the Scheme before it was known, will certainly all vanish as soon as it comes to be publickly known, that there never was any Thing intended by the Scheme, but only to enable the Publick to receive those Duties they are already by Law entitled to, and to prevent the fair Trader's being undone by Rogues and Smugglers; so that one strong Argument with me for agreeing to the Scheme is, that by carrying it into Execution, and thereby shewing to every Man what it really is, those ill-grounded Clamours, which have been raised by the Enemies of the Government, may be allayed, and may be made appear to be at last as groundless as they were at first malicious. Besides, Sir, as one of the chief Things intended by this Scheme is the Relief of the Landed-Interest, it must contribute towards establishing his Majesty and his Government in the Hearts and Affections of all the Landed-Gentlemen, when they see themselves so much relieved as to a Tax which they have been charged with for a great many Years, and that without loading them or any of their Fellow-Subjects with any new Tax, or obliging one honest Man in the Kingdom to contribute a Farthing to the publick Charge more than he did before: This, Sir, must secure to his Majesty the Affections of all honest Men, and it will greatly improve our Character among our foreign Neighbours; for when they see that the Government may be supported in Times of Peace, without the Assistance of that Imposition which is yearly raised upon the Land-Holders of Great Britain, they will be careful of giving us any

Disturbance, they will all see that we have a Fund in reserve, ready at all Times, and sufficient for supporting a most expensive War.

As to the Severity of the Laws of Excise, I am surprized, Sir, to hear Gentlemen talk so much of it. They talk of those Laws as if there were something in them most singularly severe, when it is well known that the Laws of the Customs are in many Cases as severe as those of the Excise, and the Powers granted by the former are in most Cases as extensive as those granted by the latter: An Officer of the Customs, Sir, has in many Cases a Power of entering the House of any Subject in Britain: This, Sir, is a Power that is absolutely necessary to be given, and will always be necessary as long as we have any Duties to be levied: It is a Power they have had for many Years, and yet it never has been, I hope it never will be abused; if ever it should, the Parliament would without Doubt severely chastise that Officer that committed such an Abuse, or those Commissioners who dared to encourage him in committing it. In this therefore the Laws of the Excise are no more severe than the Laws of the Customs, and in most other Cases we shall find them pretty much the same with Respect to Severity; for which Reason I could not but be surprized to hear the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last say, that he thought all those who were subject to the Laws of Excise were downright Slaves, and were entirely deprived of their Liberty: I believe, Sir, that most of those People, who are now subject to these Laws, look upon themselves to be as free as any other of his Majesty's Subjects.

One of the great Complaints against this Scheme is, I find, Sir, that it will greatly encrease the Number of Excise-Officers; a new Army of Excisemen it is said must be raised for the Execution of this Scheme, and this may be of dangerous Consequence to our Liberties. But how little Weight there is in this Argument I leave to every one to judge: The whole Number proposed to be added is not above 129 Officers; but granting there were to be 150, is this Nation to be enslaved by 150 little Excisemen? In this there is something so ridiculous, that I am almost ashamed to mention it.

Another Objection is, that thereby a great many will be subjected to be tried by the Commissioners of the Excise, or by Commissioners of Appeal, who are entirely dependent on the Crown, and removeable at Pleasure; but this Objection, Sir, is I think entirely removed by making the Appeal to 3 Judges in Westminster-Hall, who are all Judges for Life, and are consequently entirely independent on the Crown. To this the Gentlemen answer, that, even before those Judges, the Subject is not to be tried by a Jury, and this

this is loudly complained of, as if the subjecting of *Englishmen* to any Tryal but that by a Jury were a great Innovation, and a dangerous Encroachment on our Constitution. I own, Sir, that by the Great Charter, by one of the fundamental Articles of our Constitution, every *Englishman* is to be tried by his Peers; but, Sir, has not the Wisdom of the Nation found it necessary to admit of many Exceptions to this general Rule? Several of our most eminent Courts, are in every Method of their Proceeding an Exception to this Rule; in the Court of *Chancery* we have no Tryals by Juries; in the High Court of *Admiralty* we have no Tryals by Juries; and in many particular Cases it is ordered that the Affair shall be tried in the most summary Way without any Jury: In all these Cases the Wisdom of the Nation found it necessary to depart from the general Rule established by the Great Charter, and therefore they altered the Method of Tryal; why should not the Legislature now do the same? Is not their Power the same? And if they see good Reason for it in the present Case, ought not they to do it? Whatever is done by the Wisdom of Parliament becomes a Part of our Constitution; and whatever new Method of Tryal is thereby introduced becomes from thenceforth as much a Part of our Constitution as ever the old one was.

Now, Sir, if ever there was a Reason for altering the antient Method of Tryal by Jury, there is a very strong one for altering it with Regard to Tryals concerning the Revenue: Every Gentleman, who has been the least conversant in the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*, well knows the Partiality of Juries in Favour of those who are sued by the Crown for any Frauds in the Revenue; I could give many Instances of it; but I shall mention only one. (*Here he inform'd the House of the Case.*) The Defendant in this Case was one of the most notorious Smugglers in the whole Country, he had often been tryed for such Practices, and tho' he had always before escaped, yet it was thought impossible he should then get off; I had then the Honour to serve the Crown, and so must very well remember the Tryal; the Evidence against him was so very full and clear, that I believe there was not a Man in the Court, except those on the Jury, who were not fully convinced of the Truth of the Evidence against him; he was, according to the Opinion of every other Man present, fully convicted of what he was accused of; yet the Jury thought fit to bring in their Verdict in his Favour. So that really, Sir, the Crown can never pretend to prevent Smuggling or unfair Trading, as long as the Tryals are to be for the most Part by Juries; and where it becomes necessary to alter that Method of Tryal, the altering it in that new Case can no

more be said to be an Innovation or Inroad on our Constitution, than the altering of it formerly in another Case was.

In short, I have as great a Value for the Liberty of my Fellow-Subjects as any Gentleman in this House; I shall always be ready to appear for the Liberties of my Country whenever I see them in any Manner attacked; but as Liberty does not at all enter into the present Question, it is needless to make any Declarations about it, or to have it in any Way under our Consideration; and therefore I shall be very ready to give my Assent to the Motion made by the Hon. Gentleman near me.

Sir P—M—n. I rise up, Sir, only to explain myself as to one Particular in which the Hon. and learned Gentleman over the Way, for whom I have a very great Respect, seems to have mistaken me, or rather has misrepresented what I said. For I did not say, Sir, that those who are now subject to the Laws of Excise are downright Slaves, or that they are totally deprived of their Liberty. I should be sorry, Sir, if any such Thing could be said of any Man that has the least Pretence to call himself a Subject of *Great Britain*; but I said, Sir, that those who are subjected to the Laws of Excise, are in so far as they are subjected to such Laws deprived of their Liberty: They are deprived of a Part of their Liberty, and therefore cannot be said to be as free as any other of his Majesty's Subjects. This I said, Sir; this is still my Opinion, and if those who are so unfortunate as to be subject to the Laws of Excise were to be asked the Question, Whether they think themselves as free in all Cases as those who are subject to no such Laws? I believe there is ne'er a one of them but would answer, No.

Sir J—n B—d. I find, Sir, that the Hon. Gentleman who opened this Scheme, and the Hon. and learned Gentleman who spoke last, make great Complaints of some People's having grossly and maliciously misrepresented their Scheme, before those malicious Persons knew what it was. For my Part, Sir, I happen to be of a very different Way of Thinking; for tho' I am far from thinking that the Scheme, as now opened to us, is the very same with what it was when first formed, yet even as it is now opened, it is such a Scheme in my Opinion as cannot, even by Malice itself, be represented worse than it really is. Now that I know it, now that I see what it is, it appears to me to be a Scheme that will be attended with all those bad Consequences that ever were apprehended from it before it was known; and I plainly foresee that it will produce none of those good Effects which Gentlemen have entertained us with the Hopes of: They have indeed gilded the Pill a little, but the Composition within

is still the same; and if the People of *England* be obliged to swallow it, they will find it as bitter a Pill as ever was swallowed by them since they were a People.

The learned Gentleman was pleased to say, that he was of Opinion that the Opposition to this wicked Scheme, (for so, Sir, I must call it) proceeded from other Motives than Gentlemen are willing to own; I do not know what Motives he can mean; but I am persuaded that those Gentlemen who propose this Scheme have some secret Views which it would neither be convenient or safe for them to own in this Place. For as to any Reasons or Views which may be openly avowed for the proposing of this Scheme, I know of none but that of preventing Frauds in that Branch of the Revenue now under our Consideration; and that this Scheme will not answer that Purpose, has I think been made plainly appear by my worthy Brother near me; but granting that this Scheme should answer such a Purpose, if the Laws now in Being duly executed are sufficient for answering that Purpose, what Necessity is there for applying this new, this desperate Remedy, a Remedy which is certainly much worse than the Disease? Before I proceed any further, I shall desire that the Commissioners of the Customs, who are attending at the Door, may be called in.

The Commissioners were accordingly called in, and being asked by Sir J—n. What they thought the Value of the Frauds in the Tobacco-Trade might amount to one Year with another? Their Answer in Effect was, that they had never made any Computation; but one of them said, that by a Computation he had made only for the satisfying of his own private Curiosity, he believed the Frauds come to their Knowledge might amount to 30 or 40,000l. per Ann. one Year with another. Then Sir J—n put this Question to them, Whether or no it was their Opinion, that if the Officers of the Customs performed their Duty diligently and faithfully, it would not effectually prevent all, or most of the Frauds in the Tobacco-Trade? To which they answered, that it was their Opinion it would. Then he asked them, Whether or no it was their Opinion, that if the Commissioners of the Customs had the same Power over their Officers that those of the Excise have over theirs, it would contribute a great Deal towards making them more exact and faithful in the Discharge of their Duty, than they now are? And their Answer was, That they believed it would. After this, the Commissioners being withdrawn, Sir J—n went on as follows, viz.

I now, Sir, leave it to every Gentleman to consider, what real Pretence can be formed for introducing such a dangerous Scheme, as has been proposed. The only Pretence I have yet heard made Use of is, the preventing of Frauds, by which, say they, the fair Trader will be encouraged, and the Revenue increased; but

now you see, that it is the Opinion even of the Commissioners of the Customs, that, by a due Execution of the Laws in Being, all, or most of those Frauds may be effectually prevented; and I am sure, if they can be prevented by the Laws in Being, the Preventing of them by that Method will contribute much more to the Increase of the Revenue, and the Encouragement of the fair Trader, than the Preventing of them by Means of the dangerous Scheme now proposed to us. I now leave it to the whole World to judge, who they are that have secret Motives which they are not willing to own, which they dare not own; whether the Proposers and Promoters of this Scheme, or the Opposers of it?

A The learned Gentleman seemed to be surprised how our Constitution, or our Liberties came to be brought into the present Debate; he said he thought they had no Manner of Concern in the present Question. I am sorry, Sir, to differ from a Gentleman, who by his Profession ought, and who certainly does understand the Nature of our Constitution, as well as any Man in *England*; but I am of Opinion, that the Constitution of our Government, and the Liberty of the Subject were never more nearly concerned in any Question, than in the present; they are both so deeply concerned, that their Preservation or their total Overthrow depend entirely on the Success of the Scheme now under Consideration: If the Scheme succeeds they must tumble of Course; if the Scheme is defeated, they may be preserved; I hope they will be preserved till Time shall be no more; but I must say, that the learned Gentleman, and every Gentleman who appears as an Advocate for this Scheme, is much in the right to keep, if they can, the Constitution and the Liberties of their Country out of Debate; it is from thence that the principal Arguments are to be formed against their Scheme; such Arguments as must appear unanswerable to every Man who has a Regard for either.

B The Gentleman tells us, there are but 120, or 150 Excise-Officers, besides Warehouse-Keepers, to be added by the Scheme, and this additional Number they seem to make a Ridicule of; but considering the Swarms of Tax-Gatherers we have already, this small Number (as they call it) is no trivial Matter; and I would be glad to know from those Gentlemen, what they call Warehouse-Keepers, and what Number of them may be necessary? I hope they will allow, that a Warehouse-Keeper appointed by the Treasury, and paid by the Treasury, is an Officer of the Revenue, as much as any other Officer whatever; and if the Number there must be of them be added to the other, I believe we may find that the Number of Revenue-Officers to be added by this Scheme must be very considerable.

As for the new Method of Appeal proposed, I can see no Advantage, Sir, that it will be of to any unfortunate Man that may have Occasion therefor. In all Cases the Charge and Trouble of attending must be very great, and the Event very precarious; but in most Cases, where poor Retailers may have Occasion to be concerned, the Charge and Trouble of Attendance must be much greater than the Subject can bear; so that all such People must succumb, they must submit to the Determination of the Commissioners of Excise, and can expect no other Redress, but what they meet with from the Mercy of those Commissioners. The Judges of *Westminster-Hall* are, 'tis true, for Life, but they are all named by the Crown; I shall say nothing of the present Judges who so worthily fill the several Benches; but if they should die, and if the Crown should be resolved to use that Power which the Parliament had put into their Hands, in Order to oppress the Subject, they will always find Judges fit for their Purpose; Judges are but Men, subject to the same Frailties that other Men are, and the Crown has always plenty of Baits wherewithal to tempt them. A Judge may be made a Lord Chief-Justice; a Lord Chief-Justice, a Lord Chancellor; and every one may have a Son, a Brother, or a Cousin to be provided for. The Crown has many Ways by which they may win over even a Judge to administer Justice according to the Directions he shall receive from Court; more especially when he is to administer Justice in a summary Way, and without the usual Forms of Proceeding in Courts of Law or Equity. For by this new Method of Appeal, so much bragged of, Care has been taken that the Subjects shall not be restored to their ancient Birth-Right, that is, to a Tryal by Jury: No, this I find is most carefully avoided, and yet I think it must be allowed, that it is the inherent Right of every *Englishman* to be tried by his Peers; I am not so much acquainted with Law as to give an Account of the several Cases in which this Method of Tryal has been set aside, or the Reasons for so doing; but I will venture to say, that wherever that Method of Tryal has been set aside, whether it was done by the Wisdom of the Nation, or otherways, such Alteration was an Innovation, and a dangerous Encroachment on the original Charter of our Constitution.

As to the pretended Partiality of Juries, it is of no Weight with me; I cannot see how the Hon. Gentleman, or any Gentleman, can pretend to know what Reasons a Jury may have for giving their Verdict; No Gentleman has a Right to be believed upon his single Say-so, against a Verdict given by 12 honest Men upon Oath. If there have been so many Verdicts given against the Crown, as that learned Gentleman seems to insinuate,

it is to me a strong Proof that Prosecutions have been set on Foot against the Subject upon the Evidence of Witnesses, whose Credibility or Veracity have not been very much to be depended on; which is so far from being an Argument for altering the Method of Tryal by Jury, that it is a very strong Argument for the Continuance of that Method in all Time to come. But, Sir, as it is now very late, and as I shall probably have another Opportunity of giving my Sentiments more fully upon this Affair, I shall therefore trouble you no further at present, but only to declare, that now, after hearing this Scheme opened to us, I dislike it as much as ever I did any Representation of it that ever I heard of, and therefore I shall give my Negative to the Question proposed.

M—r of the R—lls, Representative for R—te in *Surrey*. Sir, as this Affair has been much talk'd of and very variously represented without Doors, and as it has been for some Months the Subject of Conversation amongst People of all Ranks, I was resolved to suspend entirely passing any Judgment in Relation to it, till I should hear it fully opened and laid before this House. There were indeed such Clamours raised without Doors, and it was represented in so many hideous Shapes, that I cannot say but I came this Morning to the House prejudiced rather against, than in Favour of any such Project; but still, Sir, I came, as I always do, altogether undetermined, and resolved not to determine myself till I was fully informed by other Gentlemen, in the Course of the Debate, of all those Facts which ought to be known before any Determination can be made in an Affair of so great Importance.

I had before heard, Sir, that by this Scheme the Landed-Gentlemen were to be eased of a Part of the Land-Tax, that the publick Revenue was to be greatly improved, and that our Planters in *America* and our fair Traders at home were to be greatly encouraged; but all these Considerations would have had no Weight with me, if I had found that so many of my Fellow-Subjects were thereby to have been subjected to the grievous Laws of Excise without any Alleviation or Alteration. I must own, Sir, that the Severity of those Laws has been long justly complained of, but at the same Time I must say, that the many Frauds in that Branch of the Revenue now under our Consideration are most heavy and grievous, and what I cannot think of seeing the Nation suffer any longer under, without applying some proper Remedy; and since by the Proposition now made to us, there is not only an effectual Remedy provided against all those Frauds, but likewise a Method proposed, by which the Edge of the Laws of Excise is to be blunted, and that Severity taken quite off, which hitherto always afforded just

Ground of Complaint, therefore I cannot hesitate one Moment as to giving my Assent to what is now proposed.

This Consideration, Sir, is of the greater Weight with me, and must be so with every honest Man, that by what is now proposed, the Laws of Excise are to be rectified not only in the Case now before us, but in every other Case; the whole Body of those Laws are to be reformed and rectified in such a Manner as to remove the greatest Objection, with me indeed the only Objection, could ever be made against the Extension of them; and if this Proposition be now rejected, it is not easy to know when we shall, or if we shall ever have such an Opportunity of reforming those Laws which have been so long thought so grievous. With me it has always been a Principle to hearken to any reasonable Scheme for suppressing of Frauds committed against the Publick. I look upon the Persons guilty of such Frauds as the greatest of Criminals, and if they have any Character, if they observe any Decency in private Life, I take it to be only because they have no Opportunity to do otherwise; for that Man must have a very whimsical Conscience who cheats the Publick, and yet would scruple to cheat a private Man if he had the same Opportunity.

Whatever Resolutions we may come to in this Committee, there will probably be a Bill or Bills ordered to be brought in pursuant to them; and if in the Course of the Debate any real Difficulties be started, if any reasonable Objections be made, without Doubt all proper Care will be taken, in the framing such Bill or Bills, to obviate all the Difficulties and Objections that shall or may occur: This, Sir, I make no Manner of Doubt of, and therefore I can find no Difficulty in giving my Assent to the Question proposed.

George H—te, Esq; Other Gentlemen have, Sir, already fully explained and set forth the great Inconveniencies which must be brought on the Trade of this Nation by the Scheme now proposed to us; those, Sir, have been made very apparent, and from them arises a very strong Objection against what is now proposed; but the greatest Objection arises from the Danger to which this Scheme will most certainly expose our Liberties: Those Liberties for which our Ancestors have so often ventured their Lives and Fortunes; those Liberties which have cost this Nation so much Blood and Treasure seem to me already to be greatly retrenched: I am sorry to say it, Sir, but what is now in Dispute seems to me to be the last Branch of Liberty we have to contend for; we have already established a standing Army, and have made it in a Manner a Part of our Constitution; we have already subjected great Numbers of our People to the arbitrary Laws of Excise, and this Scheme is so wide a Step

towards subjecting all the rest of the People to those arbitrary Laws, that it will be impossible for us to recover, or to prevent the fatal Consequences of such a Scheme.

We are told, Sir, that his Majesty is a good and a wise Prince, we all believe him to be so; but I hope, Sir, no Man will pretend to draw any Argument from thence for our surrendering those Liberties and Privileges, which have been handed down to us by our Ancestors: We have indeed nothing to fear from his present Majesty, he never will make a bad Use of that Power we have put into his Hands; but if we once grant to the Crown too great an Extent of Power, we cannot recall that Grant when we have a Mind; and tho his Majesty should never make a bad Use of it, some of his Successors may: The being governed by a wise and a good King does not make the People a free People; the *Romans*, Sir, were as great Slaves under the few good Emperors they had, as they were under the most cruel of their Tyrants: After the People have once given up their Liberties, their Governors have all the same Power of oppressing them, tho' they may not perhaps all make the same wicked Use of that Power; but a Slave that has the good Fortune to meet with a good-natur'd and a humane Master, is no less a Slave than he that meets with a cruel and barbarous one. Our Liberties, Sir, are too valuable, and have been purchased at too high a Price, to be sported with, or wantonly given up even to the best of Kings: We have before now had some good, some wise and gracious Sovereigns, but we find that under them our Ancestors were as jealous of their Liberties as under the worst of our Kings: It is to be hoped that we have still the same Value for our Liberties; if we have, we certainly will use all peaceable Methods to preserve and secure them; and if such Methods should prove ineffectual, I hope there is no *Englishman* but has Spirit enough to use those Methods for the Preservation of our Liberties, which were used by our Ancestors for the Defence of theirs, and for transmitting them down to us in that glorious Condition in which we found them. Some are still alive who bravely ventured their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of the Liberties of their Country; there are many whose Fathers were embarked in the same glorious Cause. Let it never be said, that the Sons of such Men wantonly gave up those Liberties for which their Fathers had risked so much, and that for the poor Pretence of suppressing a few Frauds in the Collecting of the Revenues, which might easily have been suppressed without entering into any such dangerous Measures. This, Sir, is all I shall trouble you with at present, but so much I thought was incumbent upon me to say, in Order that I might enter my Protest against the Question now before us.

W—

W—m P—y, Esq; Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who opened this Affair to us, took up so much of the Time of the Committee, and it is now so very late, that I am almost afraid of giving you any Trouble at present; but I hope, considering the Importance of the Subject, that Gentlemen will excuse me, and will allow me to take some Notice of what has been said by the Hon. Gentleman who introduced the Debate, and the Hon. and Learned Gentleman who spoke last but one. As to the Frauds, Sir, which the Hon. Gentleman dwelt so long on, and which the Hon. and Learned Gentleman was pleased to call heavy and grievous, I believe every Gentleman in the Committee is convinced that there are such Frauds; I believe every Gentleman will agree that they are most heavy and grievous; but I do not believe, that it is but of late that the Hon. Gentleman has come to the Knowledge of them, nor do I believe, that the Frauds, relating to Wine and Tobacco, are the only Frauds he has heard complained of; there is hardly a Gentleman in the Kingdom but has heard of Frauds in almost every Branch of the Revenue; even that Hon. Gentleman must have heard many Years ago of the Frauds committed in the Tobacco and Wine Trade; why then, Sir, was there no Remedy sooner proposed? How could that Gentleman see the publick Revenue, for which he expresses such a tender Concern, suffer so long by those Frauds, without proposing some Expedient for preventing them? The Expedient now proposed is certainly no such new or extraordinary a Thing; it might have been thought of, I dare say it has often been thought of before this Time, but it seems it was never thought proper to propose it till now; at least it was never till now thought necessary; and yet it cannot be said, but that the Frauds both in Wine and Tobacco were as great formerly as they are at present.

The Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to tell us, that his Thoughts are entirely confined to the two Articles of Wine and Tobacco, and that nothing else was ever designed by him, or any of his Acquaintance, to be subjected to the Laws of Excise: Whatever his Thoughts may have been in Time past, he must excuse me if I say, that I do not believe they will be so much confined in Time to come. Are there not Frauds, Sir, committed in every Branch of the publick Revenue? Will not that Hon. Gentleman think himself as much bound in Duty to lay those Frauds before this House, and propose a Remedy for them, as he now thinks himself bound to expose and to offer a Remedy for preventing the Frauds in Wine and Tobacco? And if the Remedy now proposed be deemed by Parliament the most proper and effectual Remedy for preventing the Frauds in Wine and Tobacco, will not that be made use of as an

Argument for applying the same Remedy as to the Frauds in every other Branch of the Revenue? Will it not be said, you did so and so in the Case of Wine and Tobacco, why should you scruple to apply the same Remedy in the Case now before you? So that from the Gentleman's own Way of arguing as to the Case he has been pleased now to lay before us, one may see a most evident Design of a much farther Extension of the Laws of Excise; one may clearly see a Design of subjecting every Branch of the Revenue to those arbitrary Laws; only the Gentleman has a Mind, it seems, to be a little cunning, and to do it by Piece-meal.

Whatever Opinion the Hon. and Learned Gentleman may have of the Proposition made by his Hon. Friend, it is plain it breathes nothing but the Principles of the most arbitrary and tyrannical Governments that have been established in *Europe*: The enlarging of the Power of the Crown; the increasing the Number of Dependents on it; the rendering the Happiness of the Subject precarious, and depending in a Manner entirely on the good Will of a Prime Minister, or of those employed under him, are the certain Consequences of the Scheme now proposed: They are the certain Consequences of all Schemes for extending the Laws of Excise, and are probably the principal Views of all those who set up such Projects. Let Gentlemen but read the political Testaments of *Ricblieu* and *Louvois*, the Legacies left by the Authors to their Master, for instructing him in the Principles of arbitrary Government; let Gentlemen, I say, but read those Testaments, and they will see that the Author of this Scheme, whoever he be, must be very well versed in them; they will see how well it agrees with the Principles there laid down for establishing and supporting arbitrary Power. It is for this Reason that the *English Nation* has always been so averse to Excise-Projects of all Kinds; the very Word Excise has always been odious to them. It is true there has been an Excise established by Parliament, but it was at first given as a Purchase for the Court of Wards and Liveries; and tho' that Court was most justly look'd on as one of our greatest Grievances, yet the Purchase has always been reckoned too dear, and that Parliament which gave the Excise has been branded with the infamous Name of a Pensionary Parliament. Even the great King *William*, notwithstanding all he had done for the People of *England*, notwithstanding of his being most generally beloved and esteemed by his Subjects, yet he had like to have suffered by a Notion's prevailing among the People, that some new Excises were to have been established. It was publicly said, that we had got a *Dutch King*, and that therefore we were to be saddled with *Dutch Excises*: That wise King was so sensible

ble of the Danger he might be exposed to by the prevailing of such a Notion, that he thought it necessary to disavow any such Intention by a publick Declaration.

I most readily believe, Sir, that the Hon. and Learned Gentleman over the Way comes at all Times to this House undetermined as to any Point that is to be brought before us, and resolved to be determined by what shall be offered in the Course of the Debate; but I am much at a Loss to find out what in the present Debate has determined him to be of the Opinion he now seems to be of: He has indeed told us, that the Reformation proposed as to the Laws of Excise, is what very much weighs with him; he says that the Laws of Excise are to be blunted, that their Edge is to be taken off by what is now proposed. In this, Sir, I must confess my Short-sightedness, I can see no Reformation in what is proposed; what I look on as most grievous in the Laws of Excise is to continue the same as before; Are not the Officers to have the same oppressive and vexatious Powers continued to them? Are not the Commissioners to have the same dispensing Power with Regard to Fines and Forfeitures? Are Trials by Jury to be restored? No, Sir; all these Grievances are to remain upon the same Footing as before. The Power and Influence of the Crown by Means of the Laws of Excise is still to be as great as it was before, only there are by this Scheme many Thousands more to be subjected to it; the Method of Appeal is to be indeed a little altered, but I am afraid the Alteration will not be much for the better; the Expence will be much greater, and the Redress as precarious as ever: How then are the Laws of Excise to be blunted? Where is this Reformation so much boasted of, and on which that Hon. and Learned Gentleman seems solely to ground his Opinion? But it seems he expects that when this Proposition comes the Length of a Bill, many fine Things are to be done, many more Things than we have ever as yet heard of: If it should come the Length of a Bill, which I am in great Hopes it never will, he may very probably find himself disappointed, and if that should be the Case, I doubt not but he will be of a different Opinion.

Gentlemen have said, there are no Complaints made of the Laws of Excise, or of the Oppressions of Excise-Officers; but, Sir, I believe there is ne'er a Gentleman in this House, who cannot give some Instances even within his own Knowledge, of most cruel Oppressions committed by some of those Officers; I am sure there is no Gentleman who has ever acted in the Country as a Justice of Peace, but can give Hundreds of such Instances. The People have complained so often, and so long, of the Severity of those Laws, and the Vexations of those Officers, that they are now weary of complaining. To what

Purpose should they complain, since they see there has never as yet been any Provision made for their Redress? Their Complaints have been hitherto disregarded, even by those who are in some Manner bound to take Notice of them.

The Hon. Gentleman was pleased to dwell long upon the Generosity of the Crown in giving up the Fines, Forfeitures, and Seizures to the Publick; but in my Opinion it will be but a poor Equivalent for the many Oppressions and Exactions which the People will be exposed to by this Scheme. I must say, that the Hon. Gentleman has himself been of late mighty generous in his Offers to the Publick. He has been so gracious as to ask us, Will you have a Land-Tax of 2 s. in the Pound, or a Land-Tax but of 1 s.; or will you have no Land-Tax at all? Will you have your Debts paid? Will you have them soon paid? Tell me but what you want, let me but know how you can be made easy, and it shall be done for you. These, Sir, are most generous Offers, but there is something so very extraordinary, something so farcical in them, that really I can hardly mention them without laughing: It puts me in Mind of the Story of *Sir Epicure Mammon* in the *Alchymist*. He was gulled out of his Money by fine Promises; he was promised the Philosopher's Stone, by which he was to get Mountains of Gold, and every Thing else he could desire; but all ended at last in some little Thing for curing the Itch.

I wish the Gentlemen, who appear so zealous for this Scheme, would have some little Regard to their Constituents. It is well known that it was the Custom among our Ancestors, when any new Device was proposed, to desire Time to have a Conference with their Countries: I am but very little conversant in Books of Law, however I sometimes look into them, and I must beg Leave to read a Passage or two on this Subject from my *Ld. Coke*. That great Lawyer, in the 4th Part of his *Institutes*, Page 14th, says, *It is also the Law and Custom of the Parliament, that when any new Device is moved on the King's Behalf, in Parliament, for his Aid, or the like, the Commons may answer, that they tendered the King's Estate, and are ready to aid the same, only in this new Device they dare not agree without Conference with their Countries; whereupon it appeareth, that such Conference is warrantable by the Law and Custom of Parliament.* And again, in Page 34, he tells us, *At the Parliament bolden in 9th Edw. III. when a Motion was made for a Subsidy of a new Kind, the Commons answered, that they would have Conference with those of their several Countries and Places, who had put them in Trust, before they treated of any such Matter.* If such a Conference, Sir, was ever necessary, it is surely necessary before we agree to the Device.

vice now offered to us; a Device which, in my Opinion, strikes at the very Root of our Liberties; it is, in my Way of thinking, a downright Plan for arbitrary Power, and in this I am not singular, for there seem to be many Gentlemen of the same Opinion within Doors as well as without; therefore I must think it is incumbent upon every Gentleman in this House, at least to desire to have a Conference with his Constituents before he agrees to any such Device: This, Sir, would have been necessary if we had been entirely ignorant of the Sentiments of our several Countries; but indeed in the present Case such a Conference seems quite unnecessary; we already know the Sentiments of our Constituents in Relation to the Device now offered to us; the whole Nation has already, in the most open Manner, declared their Dislike to it, and therefore I hope the Gentlemen of this Committee will reject it with that Scorn and Contempt it deserves.

Sir *W—m W—m*. Sir, Tho' it be now very late, yet I must beg Leave to offer my Sentiments as to the Question now in Debate; for it is a Question of such Importance, that I should not think I discharged the Duty I owe to my Country without declaring in the most publick Manner my Abhorrence of the Scheme now opened to us. The Scheme, as now explained to us, has in my Opinion been no Way misrepresented. It is the very same with what has been represented to us, with that which the Nation has so openly and so generally declared their Dislike to; it is fraught with all those Evils which were ever attributed to it, and most apparently strikes at the very Fundamentals of our Constitution. The Collecting of any Duties by the Laws of Excise has, in all Ages, and Countries, been looked on as the most grievous and oppressive Method of collecting of Taxes, and if one Method of raising an Excise can be more oppressive than another, the Method now proposed, of raising this new Excise, must of all Methods be the most oppressive, and the most vexatious to the People: In all Countries Excises of every Kind are look'd on as Badges of Slavery, and tho' the *English* Nation be now unfortunately subjected to some of them, yet I hope they will never consent to any new Excises, or to any new Extension of the Laws of Excise, let the Pretences for so doing be ever so specious.

But in the present Case, pray Sir, let us consider, what are the specious Pretences made Use of, what are the great Advantages proposed for persuading us to consent to the subjecting of so many of his Majesty's faithful Subjects to be plagued and harrassed by the Officers of Excise. The suppressing of Frauds and the Advantages that will accrue therefrom to the Publick and to the fair Trader, is by what I can find the only Pretence now made Use

of; and yet those Frauds even aggravated a they were by the Hon. Gentleman who proposed this Scheme to us, do amount to but a meer Trifle; so that the Improvement to be made as to the publick Revenue will be but very inconsiderable, if any at all, after deducting the additional Charges of Management, which the Publick will become liable to by the great Increase of Officers: This Pretence therefore, even when set in the strongest Light, can be no sufficient Argument for prevailing on us to expose our Constitution to the least Danger, or to subject any of our fellow Countrymen to great Hardships; but this Pretence is still more frivolous, since it has been made appear to us, that those Frauds are not at all so considerable as they have been represented; that all Sorts of Frauds cannot be prevented even by the Scheme now proposed, and that many of the Frauds lately committed, might be prevented by the Laws now in Being, if Care were taken to have proper Officers, and to make those Officers diligent and faithful. I grant indeed, Sir, that the Power and Influence of the Crown will be greatly increased and improved by this Scheme; I must own, Sir, that great Numbers of the People of this Nation will thereby be rendered most submissive and obedient to those that shall hereafter be employed by the Crown; and if this be a Motive for agreeing to this Scheme, I must allow that it is a strong one, I believe indeed that it is the only real one that any Gentleman can have for giving his Consent to such a Scheme; but with me, Sir, it is so far from being a Motive for giving my Consent, that it is the strongest Motive I have for giving my Negative to the Question now before us, because I think it absolutely inconsistent with our Constitution.

'Tis true, Sir, an Ease to the Landed-Interest has upon this, as well as upon some other late Occasions of the like Nature, been thrown out, as a Bait for some Gentlemen; but I hope the Landed-Gentlemen are not to be caught by such Baits; the Hook appears so plain, that it may be discovered by any Man of common Sense; however I must say, that the Method of Arguing is unfair, the Design is wicked, for it is an Endeavour to set the Landed-Interest in a Manner at War with the Trading-Interest of the Nation; it is endeavouring to destroy that Harmony which always ought to subsist among the People of the same Nation, and which if once destroyed would end in the Ruin and Destruction of the Whole. But every Landed-Gentleman will do well to consider what Value their Lands would be of, if for the Sake of a small and immediate Ease to themselves, they should be induced to oppress and destroy the Trade of their Country, and whoever considers this, will despise all such Projects, and reject them with that Contempt which they deserve: This,

This, Sir, is one Reason for the Landed-Gentlemen not to accept of the pretended Ease now offered to them by agreeing to the Scheme now proposed; but there is another strong Reason against it: This House of Commons, Sir, is mostly composed of Gentlemen of the best Families and greatest Properties perhaps in the Nation, they have generally a great Family-Interest in the several Counties, Cities and Boroughs they represent; if this Scheme should take Effect, that Interest will soon be destroyed; and surely no Man will agree to a Scheme which must inevitably destroy the natural Interest the great Families have, and always ought to have, in their respective Counties, and transfer the Whole to the Crown: If this Scheme should once be established, the Influence of the Crown will be so great in all Parts of the Nation, that no Man can depend upon the natural Interest he has in his Country for being a Member of this House, he must in all future Times for such a Favour depend entirely upon the Crown, and this I hope there is no Gentleman in this House would chuse to submit to.

Q. Elizabeth, that wise and gracious Princess, governed herself by Politicks quite different from those which seem to be at present in Vogue: She was so far from endeavouring to divide her Subjects, that she wisely never gave herself up to any one Minister, or to any one Party; she always preserved a Harmony among all her Subjects, and kept a friendly Correspondence with all Parts and all Parties in the Kingdom; she even kept up a constant personal Correspondence with some of the principal Men in every County, by which she had always a thorough Knowledge of the several Sentiments as well as Circumstances of all her Subjects, and most prudently adapted all her Measures to what she found to be the Sentiments of the Generality of the Nation; more particularly she took Care to avoid every Thing that appeared disagreeable to the People: To this wise Politick, Sir, it is owing, that her Reign makes such a glorious Figure in our *English* History; to this it is owing, that she reigned with more Popularity than any Prince since her Time, except her Royal Successor *Q. Anne*: Thus she reigned, Sir, and reigned absolutely, but so as I could wish every Prince in *England* to do; she reigned absolutely over the Hearts and Affections of her Subjects, and thereby she had both their Persons and Purse always at Command.

We are told, Sir, why do you complain of this Scheme? here is no new Tax to be imposed; there is nothing proposed but only a new Method of raising those Taxes which are already due by Law. But I would have Gentlemen remember, that this Nation has once already been more grievously oppressed by a new Method of Raising and Collecting that Money that was before due by Law,

than ever they were by any new Tax that was ever laid on them; I have already, Sir, mentioned the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, let us but look a little further back, and we shall find that the People were most terribly harassed, and the Nation almost destroyed, by a grievous Method of collecting and raising that which was due by the Laws then in Being: *A Empson and Dudley*, those two noted Ways and Means-Men, those two wicked Ministers knowing the Avarice of their Master, and the insatiable Desire he had for Money, concluded no Scheme would be more agreeable to him than those which would fill his Coffers by draining the Purse of his Subjects; and this they did, Sir, without imposing any new Taxes, they laid no new or illegal Burdens on the People, they did it by a severe and rigorous Execution of the Laws before enacted: But what was their Fate? They had the Misfortune to out-live their Master, and his Son as soon as he came to the Throne took off both their Heads. In this he did justly, tho' he did it against Law; they had done nothing contrary to Law, they had only put the Laws severely in Execution, and what they did was in Obedience to the Commands of the King his Father; yet that could be no Excuse for them, their Manner of executing those Laws was so grievous and oppressive upon the Subjects, that nothing less than their Lives could be admitted of as a sufficient Attonement to the People; and certainly, Sir, that Oppression which is committed under the Sanction of the Laws, or of the Royal Authority, must always be deemed the most heinously criminal, and ought to be the most severely punished.

There never was in any Reign a Scheme or Project attempted so much to the Dislike and Dissatisfaction of the People in general; the whole Nation has already so openly declared their Aversion to the Scheme now offered to us, that I am surprised to see it insisted on; the very proposing of such a Scheme to a House of Commons, after so many Remonstrances against it, I must think most audacious; it is in a Manner flying in the Face of the whole People of *England*: And since they have already declared against it, God forbid that we who are their Representatives should declare for it.

Mr. C—r of the E—r. Sir, as I was obliged when I opened the Affair now before us, to take up a great deal of your Time, I then imagined that I should not have been obliged to have given you any further Trouble; but when such Things are thrown out, Things which in my Opinion are quite foreign to the Debate; when the ancient Histories not only of this Country, but of other Countries, are ransacked for Characters of wicked Ministers, in Order to adapt them to the present Times, and to draw
Parallels

Parallels between them and some modern Characters, to which they bear no other Resemblance but only that they were Ministers, it is impossible for one to sit still; of late Years, I have dealt but little in the Study of History, but I have a very good Prompter by me, (meaning Mr. A—y G—l) and by his Means I can recollect, that the Case of *Empson* and *Dudley* mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, was so very different from any Thing than can possibly be presumed from the Scheme now before us, that I wonder how it was possible to lug them into the Debate. The Case as to them was, that they had by Virtue of old and obsolete Laws most unjustly extorted great Sums of Money from People, who, as was pretended, had become liable to great Pains and Penalties, by having been guilty of Breaches of those obsolete Laws, which for many Years before had gone entirely into Disuse. I must say, Sir, and I hope most of those that hear me think, that it is very unjust and unfair to draw any Parallel between the Characters of those two Ministers and mine, which was I suppose what the Hon. Gentleman meant to do, when he brought that Piece of History into the Debate. If I ever endeavour to raise Money from the People, or from any Man whatever, by oppressive or illegal Means, if my Character should ever come to be in any Respect like theirs, I shall deserve their Fate: But while I know myself to be innocent, I shall depend upon the Protection of the Laws of my Country; as long as they can protect me I am safe, and if that Protection should fail, I am prepared to submit to the worst that can happen. I know that my political and ministerial Life has by some Gentlemen been long wished at an End; but they may ask their own disappointed Hearts, how vain their Wishes have been; and as for my natural Life, I have lived long enough to learn to be as easy about parting with it as any Man can well be.

As to those Clamours, Sir, which have been raised without Doors, and which are now so much insisted on, it is very well known by whom, and by what Methods they were raised, and it is no difficult Matter to guess with what Views; but I am very far from taking them to be the Sense of the Nation, or believing that the Sentiments of the Generality of the People were thereby expressed. The most Part of the People concerned in those Clamours, did not speak their own Sentiments, they were plaid by others like so many Poppets; it was not the Poppets that spoke, it was those behind the Curtain that plaid them, and made them speak whatever they had a Mind.

There is now, Sir, a most extraordinary Concourse of People at our Door; (See p.

157.) I hope it will not be said that all those People came there of themselves naturally, and without any Instigation from others, for to my certain Knowledge some very odd Methods were used to bring such Multitudes hither; circular Letters, Sir, were wrote, and were sent by the Beadles in the most publick and unprecedented Manner, round almost every Ward in the City, summoning them upon their Peril to come down this Day to the House of Commons: This I am certain of, because I have now one of those Letters in my Pocket, signed by a Deputy of one of the greatest Wards in London, and sent by the Beadle to one of the Inhabitants of that Ward; and I know that such Letters were sent in the same Manner almost to every Liveryman and Tradesman in that Ward. By the same Sort of unwarrantable Methods have the Clamours been raised almost in every other Part of the Nation.

Gentlemen may say what they please of the Multitudes now at our Door, and in all the Avenues leading to this House; they may call them a modest Multitude if they will, but whatever Temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited so long at our Door: It may be a very easy Matter for some designing seditious Person to raise a Tumult and Disorder among them, and when Tumults are once begun no Man knows where they may end; he is a greater Man than any I know in the Nation that could with the same Ease appease them; for this Reason I must think that it was neither prudent nor regular to use any Methods for bringing such Multitudes to this Place, under any Pretence whatever. Gentlemen may give them what Name they think fit, it may be said that they came hither as humble Supplicants, but I know whom the Law calls *Sturdy Beggars*, and those who brought them hither could not be certain but that they might have behaved in the same Manner.

Sir *J—n B—d* then got up to speak, but there being some Disorder in the Committee, and the Question loudly called for, Sir, *J—n H—n C—n* got up and spoke thus, To Order, Sir, I hope you will call Gentlemen to Order; there is now a Gentleman up to speak, a Gentleman who speaks as well as any Gentleman in this House, and who deserves Attention as much as any Gentleman that ever spoke in this House: Besides, Sir, he is one of the Representatives of the greatest and the richest City in Europe, a City which is greatly interested in this Debate, and therefore he must be heard, and I desire, Sir, that you will call to Order, that the Committee may shew him at least that Respect that is due to every Gentleman who is a Member of this House.

After which the Committee being called to Order Sir *J—B—d* went on in Substance as follows. Sir, I know of no irregular or unfair Methods that were used to call People from the City to your Door; it is certain that any Set of Gentlemen or Merchants may lawfully desire their Friends, they may even write Letters, and they may send those Letters by whom they please, to desire the Merchants of Figure and Character to come down to the Court of Requests and to our Lobby, in Order to solicit their Friends and Acquaintances against any Scheme or Project which they think may be prejudicial to them. This, Sir, is the undoubted Right of the Subject, and what has been always practised upon all Occasions. The Hon. Gentleman talks of *Sturdy Beggars*; I do not know what Sort of People may be now at our Door, because I have not lately been out of the House, but I believe they are the same Sort of People that were there when I came last into the House, and then, Sir, I can assure you that I saw none but such as deserve the Name of *Sturdy Beggars* as little as the Hon. Gentleman himself, or any Gentleman whatever. It is well known that the City of London was sufficiently apprised of what we were this Day to be about; where they got their Information I do not know, but I am very certain that they had a very right Notion of the Scheme which has been now opened to us, and they were so generally and zealously bent against it, that whatever Methods may have been used to call them hither, I am sure it would have been impossible to have found any legal Methods to have prevented their coming hither.

Several other Gentlemen spoke both for and against the Scheme, and at last the Question

was put upon the Motion made by Mr. C—r of the E—r, whereupon they came to a Division; 266 for the Question, and 205 against it. (See the *List* of both these, p. 277, 279, corrected and made compleat, p. 340, 358.)

A After the Question upon this first Resolution had been thus carried in the Affirmative, the following Resolutions were proposed and agreed to without any Division, viz.

2d, That it was the Opinion of that Committee, that in Lieu of the said Duties, (viz. those mentioned in the first Resolution) so to be determined, there should be granted to his Majesty an Inland-Duty of Four-pence per Pound upon all Tobacco imported from the British Plantations, to be paid before the taking the same out of the Warehouse.

3d, That it was the Opinion of that Committee, that the Inland-Duties, to be raised and levied upon Tobacco, should be appropriated and applied to the same Uses and Purposes, as the former Duties upon Tobacco, to be determined, were appropriated and applied.

C 4th, That it was the Opinion of that Committee, that all Fines, Penalties, Forfeitures, and Seizures, to arise by the said Duties, should be applied to the Use of the Publick, except so much thereof as should be allowed to the Informers or Prosecutors.

Thus the Excise-Scheme triumphed for this first Day in the House of Commons, but the Debate had lasted so long, that it was near D Two o'Clock on Thursday Morning before the House rose, and therefore they adjourned over till next Day, being Friday the 16th of March, when they ordered the Report to be received.

[To be continued in our next.]

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES in this Month.

Omitted in our last,

Weekly Register, Oct. 27. N^o 190.

Review of the publick Buildings in London, continued. (See p. 509.)

B E D L A M is very well situated in Point of View, and is laid out in a very elegant Taste; but the Middle is not large, or magnificent enough for the Whole, and, by being exactly the same, both in Size and Decoration, with the Wings, seems even less, and more inconsiderable than it really is. The

E late Removal of the Wall and Entrance farther from the Building has a fine Effect, and the Statues on the Top can never be sufficiently admir'd.

F As to the South-Sea-House, we have some Reason to wonder that, when the Taste of Building is so much improv'd among us, we see so little Sign of it here.

The Tower of St. Michael's Corn-bil, tho' in the Gothique Stile, is a very magnificent Pile of Building, and deserves to be esteemed the finest G Thing of that Sort in London.

The Monument is the noblest modern

dern Column in the World. Nothing can be more bold and surprizing, nothing more beautiful and harmonious: The Bas Relief at the Base, allowing for some few Defects, is finely imagined, and executed as well: And nothing material can be cavil'd with, but the Inscriptions round about it. Nothing, indeed, can be more ridiculous than its Situation, unless the Reason which is assign'd for it.

As some People are ignorant enough to admire the *Bridge* merely because 'tis incumber'd with Houses from End to End; 'twill not be amiss to observe that nothing can be more ridiculous than this Invention, nothing can possibly offend the Eye more, or extinguish so many Beauties as might take Place, in Case this popular Nuisance was remov'd: Suppose the present Structure of the *Bridge* below was still to continue as it is, there would, at least, be room for a magnificent Breast-Work and Balustrade above, and the Top would afford one of the finest Prospects in the World.

The *Royal-Exchange* is the next Structure of any Consequence which demands our Attention; and here, as in most costly Fabricks, there is something to blame, and something to admire: A Building of that Extent, Grandeur and Elevation, ought, without Question, to have had an ample Area before it, that we might comprehend the Whole, and every Part at once: The Entrance into this Building is very grand and august; the two Statues which adorn it are beautiful and admirable: But then the Tower which arises over it is a Weight to the whole Building, and is broken into so many Parts, that it rather hurts than pleases. The Inside is light and airy, laid out in a very good Stile, and finish'd with great Propriety of Decoration. I could wish, tho', that either the Statues were executed in a better Manner, or that the City would condescend to excuse the setting up any more.

The Building now erecting for the *Bank*, is liable to the very same Objection, in Point of Place, with the *Exchange*, and even in a greater Degree too: As to the Structure itself 'tis grand and expensive; the Architect has a very good Taste of Beauty, and only seems to be rather too fond of Decoration.

'Tis but natural, in this Place, to lament that Ways and Means could not be found out to erect this Building on one Side of *Stocks-Market*, and that which has been so long talked of for the Lord Mayor on the other. 'Tis impossible to quit this Place without taking Notice of the equestrian Statue rais'd here in Honour of *Charles II*: A Thing exceedingly ridiculous and absurd; But when we enquire into the History of it, the Farce improves upon our Hands, and, what was before contemptible, grows entertaining. This Statue was originally made for *John Sobieski*, King of *Poland*, but, by some Accident, was left upon the Workman's Hands: About the same Time, the City was loyal enough to pay their Devoirs to *K. Charles*, immediately upon his Restoration; and, finding this Statue ready made to their Hands, resolved to do it the cheapest Way, and convert the *Polander* into a *Briton*, and the *Turk*, underneath his Horse, into *Oliver Cromwell*, to make their Compliment compleat. In this very Manner it appears at present, and the Turbant upon the last mention'd Figure is yet an undeniable Proof of the Truth of the Story.

The Church in *Walbrook*, so little known among us, is famous all over *Europe*, and is justly reputed the Master-Piece of the celebrated *Sir Christophet Wren*. Perhaps *Italy* itself can produce no modern Building that can vie with this in Taste, or Proportion.

The Steeple of *Bow Church* is another Master-Piece in a peculiar Kind

of Building, which has no fix'd Rules to direct it, nor is to be reduced to any settled Laws of Beauty: If we consider it only as a Part of some other Building, it can be esteem'd no other than a delightful Absurdity: But if either consider'd in itself, or as a Decoration of a whole City in Prospect, it is not only to be justify'd, but admir'd.

No Spot is better situated for a Statue, than that where *Cheapside Conduit* lately stood, and as no King ever deserv'd that Honour more from his People than the immortal King *William III.* I think all Party-Dissputes ought to have been dropt, and the whole City agreed to pay a Compliment to themselves, in doing that Justice to him.

Craftsman, Nov 3. N^o 383.

The Rise and Progress of Parties in England. (See p. 517.)

QUEEN *Elizabeth* designed, and the Nation called King *James* to the Throne, tho' the whole *Scottish* Line had been excluded by the Will of *Henry VIII.* made under the Authority of an *Act of Parliament.* As soon as he was on the Throne, a flattering *Act of Recognition* pass'd; in which the Parliament acknowledged, on the Knees of their Hearts, (such was the Cant of the Age) the indubitable Right, by which they declared that the Crown descended to him immediately, on the Decease of *Q. Elizabeth.* This is the *Æra* of hereditary Right, and of all those exalted Notions, concerning the Power and Prerogative of Kings, and the Sacredness of their Persons. All together they compos'd such a System of Absurdity, as had never been heard of in this Country, till that anointed Pedant broach'd them.

The Principles, by which *K. James* and *K. Charles I.* governed, and the Excesses of Hierarchical and Monarchical Power, gave great Ad-

vantage to the opposite Opinions, and entirely occasioned the Miseries which follow'd. Phrenzy provok'd Phrenzy, and two Species of Madness infected the whole Mass of the People. It hath cost us a Century to lose our Wits, and to recover them again.

That Principles as absurd as these in their Nature, and as terrible in their Consequences, should come into Vogue again at the *Restoration*, will not appear strange to those, who carry themselves back as it were to that Point of Time. The Wounds of the *civil War* were bleeding; and the Resentments of the *Cavaliers*, who came into Power at Court and in Parliament, were at their Height. It was natural for the *Royal Party* to ascribe all their and their Country's Misfortunes, without any due Distinction, to the Principles, on which *K. Charles* and even *K. James* had been oppos'd; and to grow more zealous for those, on which the Governments of these two Princes had been defend'd, and for which they had suffer'd. Add to this the national Transport on so great a Revolution; the Adulation employ'd by many to acquire new Merit, and by many to atone for past Demerit; and you will find Reason to be surpris'd, not that the same Principles of Government were establish'd, but that our Liberties were not at once given up. That they were saved we owe, not to Parliament, no not to the Convention Parliament, who brought the King home; but to those great and good Men, *Clarendon* and *Southampton.* Far from taking Advantage of the Heat and Fervour of the Times, to manage Parliaments into scandalous Jobs, and fatal Compliances with the Crown; to their immortal Honour, they broke the Army, stinted the Revenue, and threw their Master on the Affections of his People. — But I return.

Besides these Reasons, drawn from the Passions of Men, others of a more sober Kind may be given, to account for the making a Settlement at the *Restoration* upon Principles too near a-kin to those, which had prevailed before the War, and which had in Truth caused it. Certain it is, that altho' the *Non-Conformists* were stunned by the Blow they had just received, and tho' their Violence was restrained by the Force of the present Conjunction; yet they still existed. Symptoms of this appeared, even whilst the Government was settling, and continued to appear long after it was settled. Now every Symptom of this Kind renewed the Dread of relapsing into those Miseries, from which the Nation had so lately recovered itself; and *this Dread* had the natural Effect of all extreme Fears. It hurried Men into every Principle as well as Measure, which seemed to be the most opposite to those of the *Persons* fear'd, and the most likely, tho' at any other Risque, to defeat their Designs, and to obviate the present Danger, real or imaginary.

If we may believe * *One*, who certainly was not partial against *these Sells*, both *Presbyterians* and *Independents* had carried the Principle of Rigour, in the Point of Conscience, much higher, and acted more implacably upon it, than ever the Church of England hath done in its angriest Fits. The securing themselves therefore against those, who had ruined them and the Constitution once already, was a plausible Reason for the Church-Party to give, and I doubt not the true and sole Motive of many for exercising, and persisting in the Exercise of great Severity.

Some former Hardships, which the *Dissenters* had endured from the Church, made them more violent against it, when they got Possession of an usurped Power. Just so the

Violence, which they exercised at that Time, stimulated the Severity they felt in their Turn, when the legal Constitution of the Church was restored. Notwithstanding all which, I incline to think that this Severity was not in the first Design of the *Ministers*; nor would have been shewn, if another fatal Influence had not prevailed. The Influence I mean is that of *Popery*. It prevailed from the first Moments to the last of the Reign of K. Charles II. The best Ministers were frequently driven off their Byass by it. The worst had a sure Hold on their Master, by complying with it. On the Occasion now mentioned, this Influence and the Artifice of the *Papist Faction* work'd very fatally on the Passions of Parties, and the private Interests of Individuals; and the Ministers and the Church and the Dissenters were Bubbles alike of their common Enemy. Barefac'd Popery could ask no Favour, because Popery could expect none. Protestant Dissenters were therefore to serve as stalking Horses, that *Papists* might creep behind them, and have Hopes of being, some Time or other, admitted with them. The Church Party was halloo'd on the Dissenters; whilst the Dissenters were encouraged to unite and hold out; whilst they were flattered with an high Opinion of their own Strength, and the King's Favour; and whilst some leading Men amongst them, who thought it better to be at the Head of a *Sell*, than at the Tail of an Establishment, were perhaps encouraged and confirmed in that Thought by the private Applications of the Court.

These wicked Arts prevailed; and tho' the 2000 Ministers, who went out of their Churches on one Day, were far from being all of the same Mind; tho' many of them must have lost their Benefices, even if they had comply'd with the *Act of Uniformity*, because they were Intruders, and

* Dr. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, in one of his Tracts,

and in actual Possession of Benefices legally belonging to others; yet, by uniting in the Point of *Non-Conformity*, they appeared as *one Body*. Several of them were popular for certain Modes of Devotion, suited to the Humour of the Time; and several were Men eminent for true Learning and unaffected Piety. This increased the Zeal of their Flocks, and created Compassion in others. Here the *Court* began to reap the Fruits of their Management, in the Struggle for a *Toleration*. The first Step made was an Application to the *King*, who declared himself ready to *dispenſe*, in their Favour, with several Things in the *Act of Uniformity*; and thus the *Dissenters* were made, by the Severity of the *Parliament* and the Intrigues of the *Court*, the Instruments of introducing a *dispenſing Power*. Such Attempts were made more than once; but happily fail'd, as often as made, thro' the vigorous Opposition of Parliament; till at last the Scene began to open more, and the *Dissenters* to see that they were made the Tools of promoting, what they never intended, the Advancement of the *Prerogative* above Law, and the *Toleration* of *Popery* against it.

Fog's Journal, Nov. 3. N^o 261.

Policy of creating Divisions amongst the People, exposed.

CATHERINE of Medicis sometimes careſs'd the poor *Hugonots*, whom ſhe hated, till they began to be look'd upon by their Fellow-Subjects as the Instruments of her Tyranny; when ſhe had by theſe Means render'd them odious to the reſt of the People, ſhe made no Ceremony in ſacrificing them, in order to gain over the *Roman Catholics*; but all the time ſhe was acting theſe different Parts, ſhe was moſt aſſiduouſly deſtroying the Liberties of both.

I hope (ſays *Fog*) no Man or Party of Men will ever attempt to play the ſame Game here; but thinking Men cannot forbear being a little ſtartled at ſeeing Pamphlets and Papers diſpers'd all over the Country by Poſt-maſter, Excife-men, and Custom-houſe Officers, the whole Aim and Tendency of which is, to ſet People at Variance with each other.

In ſome of theſe the Freeholders of *England* are modeſtly intreated to quarrel with the Trading Intereſt, as if a flouriſhing Trade wou'd ſink the Rents, lower the Product of Land, and increaſe Taxes; and the Diſſenters are moſt earneſtly exhorted to oppoſe the general Bent and Inclinations of the reſt of the Subjects, that is to ſay, to run mad, and declare for an Excife Faction in the next Elections.

The Arguments with which theſe Propoſals are filled, are ſo full of Chicane and Quibble, that ſome are tempted to think that a certain great Man is grown ſparing of the Money uſually given among his wretched Scriblers, and to make Things worſe, that he now writes himſelf.

There are, however, ſome late Addreſſes to the Diſſenters, of which I can acquit him of being the Author; methinks there is an *Osborne* in every Line. *Osborne* has one Thing peculiar to himſelf, that as he writes like no Man, no Man alive can write like him; indeed his Colleague *Walſingham* the dull, imitates him, nay, even ſurpaſſes him in one of his moſt diſtinguiſhing Excellencies, that is, in praiſing himſelf; but *Walſingham* is read no more, therefore we ſhall not diſturb the Tranquillity he enjoys.

It makes one laugh to ſee what miſerable Shifts theſe Fellows are reduced to, barely to be heard, they talk as if they were conſcious, the World expected neither Truth nor Reaſon from them; *Osborne*, in order

to engage the Dissenters to give Ear to him, tells them, that he *speaks as an Englishman, not as a Ministerial Writer*; here he makes the Distinction himself, and I will venture to answer, that the World will agree with him that there are no two Things in Nature so opposite as an *Englishman* and a Ministerial Writer. Next he tells them he is qualified to judge of their Interests, because he is attach'd to no religious Party. It must be a little whimsical for a Man to think of bringing the People, the most zealous in the World in their religious Duty, over to his Opinion, by telling them, that he has no Religion at all; but Mr. *Osborne* excels in the Absurd, as much as his Master does in the Chicane and the Shuffle; and I expect, that when he next addresses the Trading Part of the Nation, he will tell them, he is best qualified for that Task, because he should not care if they were all starved or hang'd.

What is it Mr. *Osborne* expects from the Dissenters in return for all his Favours? A very small Matter, only that they will be so good to render themselves odious to their Fellow-Subjects, by opposing the general Bent and Inclination of them all; and because common Prudence should instruct the Weak to cultivate Terms of Peace and Amity with the Strong, he expects that the Dissenters should proclaim open War with the Body of the People, of which he owns they are not a sixth, and others think they are not a tenth Part, and all this, because a certain Friend of his is frightened out of his Wits, and dreads a free P—— as much as a deceas'd Colonel a dear and intimate Friend of his did a free Jury:

The Shoals of Pamphlets which are given away *gratis* are all of a Piece, there is a glorious Emulation appears in them all to excel each other in Falshood and Absurdity; that intitled, *Serious Advice to Gentlemen,*

Yeomen, Farmers, and others, has its Merit in this Kind: The honest Task of this stupid Writer is to set the Freeholders and Trading People together by the Ears; for the Man, to serve whom all these Things are done, is in great Distress for Want of some publick Disturbance, his Emissaries have been round the Country almost begging and praying for Riots.

I can easily (says *Fog*) figure to myself what one of these Emissaries would say to an Assembly of honest Freeholders and Farmers, were he to speak what is really in his Heart; I have a Notion it would amount to something like what follows:

Loving Countrymen,

I hope you are by this Time convinc'd of what our Friends for several Months past have been assuring you over and over again, *viz.* That the Merchants of *England*, as well as the Tradesmen of all Denominations whatsoever, are not only sturdy Beggars, but all errant Knaves and Cheats, without Exception, and that it is intirely owing to them that you have been taxed for several Years past in the Manner you have been, and therefore that you ought to hate them, to quarrel with them, and oppose them in all Things whatsoever. Now an Occasion will shortly present itself, which will give you an Opportunity of being reveng'd on them; for you know we are to have a new Parliament, and now we only desire the Favour of you to make a few Riots and Disturbances at the Time of Elections in the Towns and Corporations in your several Neighbourhoods, if you would but be so kind to knock down a few of these sturdy Beggars, or only break their Windows, for of Consequence they will resist, then the Proclamation shall be read; in the Heat of this Resistance, it is ten to one they will not disperse, this puts them all in our Power; for you may leave it to us on which Side to fix the

the Riot, for we will not spare our Money, upon these Occasions, and of Consequence will not want Informers; but this Agreement that begins to spread over the Country is a most wicked Thing; have you consider'd what the terrible Consequences of Concord and Unanimity may be? Concord and Unanimity may produce a free Parliament, particularly if that flagitious Act against Bribery in Elections be put in Execution; a free Parliament may run into Enquiries, and Examinations, nay, they may proceed so far as to punish Frauds, not only to ruin my Patron, but every Friend he has in the World; but if you will go all together by the Ears, we may by your Divisions be able to get a Majority of such Persons into Parliament, as are in with my good Patron, Men that understand Business, Men that will give the Money liberally out of your Pockets, in order to put it into their own, and then you will be the happiest People in the World; for, I presume, you would not be sorry to have good Standing Armies, and good Excises, &c.

As to the Dissenters, I suppose a certain Gentleman may think to use them as he does his Cloak, which is put on in foul Weather, and thrown aside as burthensome as soon as the Storm is over; and sure there seems at present to be a very thick Cloud hanging over his Neck and Shoulders, which will require all his Surtouts; it is owing to this, that we see him servilely making court to those whom he sometimes opposed, and always neglected.

London Journal, Nov. 3. N^o 749.

A Letter from a Dissenter, to Mr. Osborne.

S I R,

I Am one of that Set of Men whom the Authors of the *Craftsman* suppose to be divested of common

Reason, and whom they treat as if we were as great *Fools* to our own Interest as they are *Enemies* to it. And I confess, I cannot, without some Indignation, think of those Persons who are not only profligate enough to libel, and with the most inveterate Rancour, asperse the best of Governments; but who have the *unheard of Vanity* to flatter themselves, that they are subtle enough to impose upon the Common Sense of near a third Part of their Fellow Subjects. Doubtless they imagine our *Intellects* as weak as our *Consciences* are scrupulous; and that they who have no more Reason than to desire to worship God their own Way, have no more Wit than to be drawn into any Snare to their Destruction. But tho' they may be sanguine enough to hope for this, yet methinks, 'tis Time they should know that all their artful Addresses and smooth Insinuations, by which they would sollicit the Favour and Interest of the *Dissenters*, are generally contru'd but as so many *Lampoons* upon their Understanding. And however their Vanity may mislead their Judgment, I believe it will be allow'd by all sober Men, that the Persons who lately used us so hardly, and now treat us so meanly, are the just Objects of our *Aversion*.

If a warm Zeal, in the Cause of Liberty, hath in some of us grown a little intemperate; I doubt not but those very Persons, upon the Abatement of that Heat, will resent the little Artifices that have been used to sway them from their own Interest, as the *greatest Indignity that could possibly be offered to their Understanding*. And I have the Pleasure to say, that in the Sphere of my Acquaintance (not very much contracted) you have generally express'd our own *Sentiments* and *Resentments*; and this, I hope, is a more general Case than you may imagine. However, I think it may rationally be depended upon,

upon, that whilst the *Dissenters* have common Discernment, and the Authors of the *Craftsman* no better a Disguise, their low and little Artifices will be effectually detected and properly resented; and that the *Dissenters* will shew themselves more sensible of their own Interest, than to intrust those Men with Power, who (not only whilst they solicit their Favour, express the meanest Sentiments of them, but) even now sufficiently discover their Inclination to Persecution. — 'No, no. But they are our

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' *disinterested Friends; they are all on a sudden miraculously changed; are become as hearty Whigs, and are as great Enemies to Persecution, as ourselves; and will (if we believe them) do their utmost to support us in our Civil Rights and Religious Liberties.*

*Sed ulla putatis
Dona carere dolis Danaum? Sic notus Ulysses?
Ne credite Teuceri
Quicquid id est, timeo Danaos & dona ferentes.*

Universal Spectator, Nov. 3. N^o 265.

Of Love.

THOUGH Love is a natural and noble Passion when well regulated, yet nothing gives a more just Occasion for Raillery than that soft Seducer when it is plac'd wrong, and fills the Head with romantick Notions and imaginary Happiness. The Beauty of the Female Part of the Creation was designed not to effeminate, but rather humanize our Nature, and give it a Softness we should otherwise be unacquainted with; we therefore should admire it without Adoration, and indulge the Passion of Love without infringing on our Reason: But when the Severity of a Philosopher dissolves into Effeminacy, and his Thirst of Knowledge into Indolence, what a ridiculous Scene must it afford to an impartial Spectator who discerns his Weakness! No one could view Eudoxus in Contemplation of

the Heavenly Bodies, and lost in a pious Adoration of their Author, without paying a Deference to his Wisdom; but who can see him now extravagantly transported at a Lady's kind Look, now scribbling Billet Doux and measuring Rhymes, without smiling at his Foible? When a Statesman gives up his Reason to this Passion, the Misfortune is not confined to himself only, but perhaps a whole Nation suffers with him; instead of writing Dispatches of State and negotiating Treaties, he is scribbling Verses, and saying a thousand fine Things on Belinda's Eyes, and the Compliments to her are preferred to the Safety of a Nation; or at least it lessens his Vigilance, and gives a wrong Turn to his Councils. Capt. Platoon sometimes, among his Military Tales, tells us of a French General, who would have engaged his Country in War, because he knew the Scene of Action, where he was to command, would give him often an Opportunity of seeing a Lady he was in Love with.

Weekly Register, Nov. 3. N^o 191.

The former Subject continued. (See P. 554.)

THE Steeple of Foster-Lane is not a glaring Pile that strikes the Eye at the first View with an Idea of Magnificence; but then the beautiful Pyramid it forms, and the just and well-proportion'd Simplicity of all its Parts, satisfy the Mind so effectually, that nothing seems to be wanting, and nothing can be spared.

F

Aldersgate is a Building so heavy and gothique, that it hardly deserves notice, unless for the Sake of a Bas-Relief of K. James I. which tho' in an awkward and inelegant Taste, is yet a very tolerable Piece of Workmanship, and may challenge some Applause.

Farther down this Street, is on the Right Hand a most delightful

4 H fine

fine Edifice that declares the masterly Hand of *Inigo Jones*, and was formerly the Residence of the Earls of *Shaftsbury*: An Edifice that deserves a much better Situation, and greater Care in preserving it from the Injuries of Time: Already it has been converted into a Tavern, and is made to serve other mechanick Uses.

The new Church in *Old-street* is so slight and trifling a Building, that 'tis not worth the Trouble of a Visit; for which Reason we shall chuse rather to cross over to *Smithfield*, neglecting the *Chartreux* at the same Time, because the Building is so intirely rude and irregular, that it admits of nothing like Criticism.

In *Smithfield*, we shall see a vast Area, that is capable of great Beauty, but is, at present, destitute of all; a Scene of Filth and Nastiness. 'Tis true, the Use which is made of it as a Market is something of an Excuse for it. Yet still 'tis my Opinion that Means might be found to make it tolerable at least; and an Obelisk, Pyramid, or Statue in the Centre, defended with handsome and substantial Rails, would go a great Way in so desirable a Project.

On one Side of this irregular Place is the Entrance, not the Front, of a magnificent Hospital; in a Taste not altogether amiss, but so erroneous in Point of Proportion, that it rather offends, than entertains: But, what is still more provoking, the Building itself is intirely detach'd from the Entrance, and, tho' so near a large and noble Opening, is, in a Manner, stifled with the circumjacent Houses: 'Tis indeed a Building in a Box, or Case; and, tho' beautiful in itself, and erected at prodigious Expence, is so far from giving Pleasure to a Judge, that he would rather regret its being built at all.

Newgate, consider'd as a Prison, is a Structure of rather more Cost and Beauty than was necessary, be-

cause the Sumptuousness of the Outside, but aggravates the Misery of the Wretches within: But, as a Gate to such a City as *London*, it might have received considerable Additions. The Gate of a City which is erected rather for Ornament than Use, ought to be in the Stile of the antient triumphal Arches.

The *Physicians* College, a Structure little known, and seldom talk'd of, is a Building of wonderful Delicacy, and deserves to be consider'd among the noblest Ornaments of this City; and yet, so unlucky is its Situation, that it can never be seen to Advantage, nay, seldom seen at all.

The Hall of Justice at the *Old-Bailey*, and indeed all the Courts I have ever yet seen in *England* are justly to be excepted to, as wanting that Grandeur, that Decency and Solemnity which ought to be inseparable from them, in order to give Men, in general, a suitable Awe for the Place, and strike Offenders with Terror.

The grand Cathedral of *St. Paul's* is undoubtedly one of the most magnificent modern Buildings in *Europe*; all the Parts, of which 'tis compos'd, are superlatively beautiful, and noble; the North and South Fronts, in particular, are very perfect Pieces of Architecture, neither ought the East to go without due Applause. The two Spires at the West End are in a finish'd Taste, and the Portico with the Ascent, and the Dome that rises in the Centre of the Whole, afford a very august and surprising Prospect; but still, with all these Beauties, it has certainly more Defects. There is a most notorious Deficiency in Point of View; such a huge Fabrick as *St. Paul's* ought, at least, to be survey'd at the Distance of *Temple-Bar*, and the Vista ought to be considerably wider than the Front of the Building. But, this is so far from the Case here, that we can't see it till we are upon it, and this Defect is

is made still worse, by turning the Edifice from the Eye, even where it can be view'd, for the Sake of that ridiculous Superstition of erecting it due East and West. The dividing the Portico, and indeed the whole Structure into two Stories on the Outside, certainly indicates at first Sight, a like Division within: A Circumstance abounding with Absurdities, and defeating even the very End of erecting it at all. The Dome should have been rais'd exactly in the Centre of the Whole, and there should have been two corresponding Steeples at the East, as well as the West End, with all other suitable Decorations. The Dome, in its present Circumstance, is abundantly too big for the rest of the Pile; and the West End has no rational Pretence to finer and more splendid Decorations than the East.

Grubstreet Journal, Nov. 8. N^o 202.

Of the Use and Abuse of the Stage.

SOME time since, when there were but two Play-houses, Sir Richard Steel thought them by one too many. And the City of London petition'd his Majesty, not long since, to withdraw his Authority from Goodman's-fields, alledging, that so many Theatres were of Detriment to a well-govern'd Kingdom, since they outvy'd each other in such Performances only, as were not consistent with Morality. Those two or three we see now increas'd to six, and consequently the Evil is much greater.

As certainly, as there are more who can see, than can think; who can perceive the Activity of a Harlequin, than judge of a Play: The readiest Way to gain a full House, must be to offer such Things as are relish'd by the Crowd; with whom empty Show, ridiculous Activity, and immodest Action never fail to be very taking.

But then how much are the better Sort of People to be condemn'd, who encourage this Practice! And it cannot but raise one's Indignation, to see the two Houses contending before such an Audience, at which the *drunken Man* shall be best perform'd, and representing such Things which they cannot but despise any Audience for approving. Is it possible, that human Nature can fall so low in its Pleasures, and take Delight in its Disgrace? What Profit, what Instruction can be form'd from such Buffoonries? A Play well written, and well perform'd, has a Power to recommend Virtue to us, and sometimes even to enforce it. There is something so strong and prevalent in it, that our Imagination will for a long Time retain it. It strikes our Fancies, making so deep an Impression upon them, that we are insensibly allur'd into Morality. Theatrical Representations of this Sort, have often had a greater Effect on the Mind, than the most thundering Sermon. And many have wept at the former, who have only slept at the latter; Such is the Power and Efficacy of good Poetry.

I wonder, that the elder, which one would think should be the wiser Part of Mankind, should ever encourage the present ridiculous Buffoonries of the Stage. If a Son, a Daughter, a Relation, or a Servant is to be treated with a Play, a Night is chosen, wherein generally the most immoral Pieces are perform'd. An *Entertainment* is what all must see; which, as now generally managed, is the very Thing, from the Sight of which they ought to be debarr'd. A mimical Dance, a *black Joke*, &c. will often have a very great Effect, and leave a very bad Impression upon the Minds of young People: And the more ingeniously and dextrously the Immodesty is carry'd on, the deeper Root it takes, and produces the greater

greater Plenty of the most corrupt and pernicious Fruit. The most active Principle in our Mind is Imagination: To this a good Poet and a moral Writer, makes his Court, and endeavours to gain it in the first Place; our Passions and Inclinations come over next; and our Reason surrenders itself in the End. Thus the whole Soul is insensibly drawn into Morality: While on the other hand, it is universally agreed, that licentious Poetry does, of all Kinds of Writing, the soonest and most effectually corrupt the Heart.

Craftsman, Nov. 10. N^o. 384.

The Discourse on Parties continued.
(See p. 556)

FOR some Time after the Restoration, one Part of the Nation stood proscribed by the other; the least, indeed, by the greatest; whereas a little before the greatest stood proscribed by the least. Round-head and Cavalier were, in Effect, no more. Whig and Tory were not yet in Being. The only two apparent Parties were those of Churchmen and Dissenters; and religious Differences alone, at this Time, maintain'd the Distinction.

But the Nation soon began to be indisposed to the Court. The Sale of Dunkirk helped to ruin a great and good Minister, [the E. of Clarendon] tho' it be still doubtful at least, notwithstanding the Clamour rais'd, and the Negotiations with d'Estades so much insisted upon, whether he was strictly answerable for this Measure. Who knows how soon the Re-establishment of the same Port and Harbour may be laid in Form to the Charge of those two Men, who are strictly and undeniably answerable for it; and who stagger already under the Weight of so many other just Imputations?

The first Dutch War, which was lightly and rashly undertaken, and

which ended ignominiously for the Nation, augmented the publick Indisposition. Nay Misfortunes, such as the Plague, and the Burning of London, as well as Mismanagement, had this Effect. But we must place at the Head of all a Jealousy of Popery, which was well founded, and therefore gathered Strength daily. This soon heated the Minds of Men to such a Degree, that it seems almost wonderful the Plague was not imputed to the Papists as peremptorily as the Fire.

The Death of my Lord Southampton, and the Disgrace and Banishment of my Lord Clarendon, made Room for new Causes of Jealousy and Dissatisfaction; and the Effects increased in Proportion. Those two noble Lords had stood in the Breach against Popery and foreign Politicks; and what one of them said of the other, that is, Southampton of Clarendon, may be apply'd with Justice to both. They were true Protestants, and honest Englishmen. Whilst they were in Place, our Laws, our Religion, and our Liberties were in Safety. When they were removed, England felt the ill Effects of the Change; for when they were removed, all these were in Danger.

K. Charles, and more than him the Duke and the Popish Faction were now at Liberty to form new Schemes; or rather to pursue old ones, with less Reserve against the Religion and Liberty of England. As soon as the famous Cabal had the whole Administration of Affairs, these Designs were push'd, almost without any Reserve at all. That these Designs were real, can be doubted of by no Man; since without quoting many printed Accounts, which are in the Hands of every one, or insisting on other Proofs, which have not seen the Light, (and such there are) the Abbot Primi's Relation of the secret Negotiations between the King and his Sister, the Dutchess of Orleans, pub-

published in 1682, as I think, and immediately suppress'd, as well as the History of the Jesuit *d' Orleans*, written on Memorials furnished to him by K. James II. put the whole Matter out of Dispute, and even beyond the Reach of Cavil. It is sufficient for my Purpose to observe, that the Tide of *Party*, which had run so strongly for the *Court*, and had been seldom so much as slacken'd hitherto, began now to turn, and to run Year after Year more strongly the *other Way*.

There was at first, but *one Party* in the first Parliament call'd by K. Charles II. and *no other Party* could raise its Head in the Nation. This might have been the Case much longer, if the *Court* had been a little honest, or a little wiser. No Parliament ever did more to gain their Prince than this. They seem'd, for several Years, to have nothing so much at Heart as securing his Government, advancing his *Prerogative*, and filling his *Coffers*. The Grants they made him were such, as pass'd for Instances of Profusion in those Days; when 1,200,000 *l.* a Year for the Civil List, the Fleet, the Guards and Garrisons, and all the ordinary Expences of the Government was thought an exorbitant Sum; how little a Figure soever it would make in our Times, when *two Thirds* of that Sum, at least, are appropriated to the Use of the *civil List* singly. But all this was to no Purpose; a *foreign Interest* prevail'd; a *Cabal* govern'd; and sometimes the *Cabal*, and sometimes a *Prime-Minister* had more Credit with the *King* than the whole Body of his People. When the *Parliament* saw that they could not gain him over to his own, and to their common Interest; nor prevail on him, by gentle Methods; they turn'd themselves to such as were rough, but agreeable to Law and the Custom of Parliament. They were transported, when they found

that their *Religion* and *Liberty* were constantly in Danger from the Intrigues of a *Popish Faction*; and they would have been so transported, no Doubt, if *Liberty* alone had been attack'd by a *Protestant Faction*. Then

A it was, that this *High-Church Parliament* grew favourable to *Protestant Dissenters*, and ready to make a just Distinction, between them and *Popish Recusants*, that the *whole Protestant Interest* might unite in the common Cause. Then it was, that this *passive*
B *Obedience and Non-Resistance Parliament* went the utmost Lengths of *Resistance*, in a *Parliamentary Way*. In fine, this *Pensioner Parliament*, as it hath been styled, with *some Corruption* in the House, and an *Army* sometimes at the Door of it, disbanded the *Army* in *England*, and protested against the *Militia*, settled in *Scotland* by Act of Parliament, and appointed to march for any Service, wherein the *King's Honour, Authority and Greatness* were concern'd, in *Obedience to the Orders of the Privy Council*.
C And they not only did their utmost to secure their Country against immediate Danger, but projected to secure it against remote Danger, by an Exclusion of the Duke of York from the Crown.

When I reflect on these Things, I cannot hear it call'd the *Pensioner Parliament*, as it were by Way of Eminence, without a Degree of honest Indignation; especially in the Age, in which we live. *Pensions* indeed, to the Amount of 7 or 8000 *l.* as I remember, were discover'd to have been given to some Members of the *House of Commons*. But then, this Expedient of *corrupting Parliament*, began under the Administration of that boisterous, over-bearing, dangerous Minister, *Clifford*. And this *Pensioner Parliament*, if it must be still call'd so, gave one Proof of *Independency*, besides that of contriving a *Test*, in 1675, to purge their Members on Oath from all Suspicion of
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corrupt Influence: They drove one of their Paymasters out of Court, and impeached the other in the Fullness of his Power.

But now, if some severe Censor should insist, that the worst and weakest Minister King Charles ever had, might have been absolute in this very Parliament, whose Character I defend; if such a Minister had been able to insist, with Places, Pensions and occasional Bribes, not a slender Majority, which the Defection of a Few might at any Time defeat, but such a bulky Majority, as might impose on itself; I shall not presume to assert the contrary. But then I would observe, that if this be true, the Preservation of our Religion and Liberty, at that Time, was owing to these two Circumstances; first, that King Charles squandered on his Pleasures what he might have employed to corrupt this Parliament; secondly, that the Ministers, in that Reign, fingered no Money but the Revenue, ordinary and extraordinary, had no Opportunity to filch in the Pockets of every private Man, and to bribe the Bubbles very often with their own Money; as might be done now, when Funding hath been so long in Fashion, and the greatest Minister hath the Means of being the greatest Stockjobber; did not the eminent Integrity of the Minister, and the approved Virtue of the Age secure us from any such Danger.

Fog's Journal, Nov. 10. N° 262.

Love of Fame, and Desire of Preferment.

A Certain Author says, *There is scarce a Man living, that is not more or less actuated by Ambition. When this Principle meets with an honest Mind and great Abilities, it does infinite Service to the World. On the contrary, when a Man thinks of distinguishing himself, without being thus qualified for it, he becomes a very pernicious, or else a very ridiculous*

Creature. How many are there, whose whole Reputation depends upon a Pun or a Quibble? I have often seen an Artist in the Streets gain a Circle, by carrying a long Pole upon his Chin or Forehead in a perpendicular Posture. Ambition has taught some Men to write with their Feet, and others to walk upon their Hands. Some tumble into Fame, and others grow immortal, by flying thro' a Hoop.

These little Odnesses do no great Hurt to any, except the Persons who have the Folly to give into them; but there are others of a dangerous Tendency, as when a Man shall take it into his Head, that it is better to be infamous for committing Mischief, than to live all his Days obscure, and unknown. Such was the Ambition of him, who fired the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and such is the Ambition of many, who seem to do Mischief without any apparent Temptation.

I have heard a Story of a certain Gentleman, (says Fog) who in the late Reign was a Member of the University of Oxford, where, I presume, finding some Way of passing his Time more agreeable to his Temper than on dry Study, he had the Misfortune it be pluck'd, i. e. he was not able to pass thro' the Exercises necessary for his taking his Degrees. It happened some Time after, that Sir Richard Steel's Patent as Director and Governor of the Play-House in Drury-Lane was superseded. This occasioned some Dispute between Sir Richard, and the present Duke of N——le, then Lord Chamberlain; upon which, our Oxonian, stimulated by the same Kind of Ambition, that possess'd him, who, of old fired the Temple of Diana, writes a most elaborate Treatise to prove, that it was lawful for Sir Richard to kill the said Duke; but having communicated it to several of his Acquaintance, it came to the Ears of the Persons then in Power; upon which our Oxonian

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was brought from *Oxford* in the Custody of a Messenger before he had an Opportunity of publishing the said Pamphlet. Some Time after, this Gentleman made a Shift to get into Holy Orders; and tho' it is a Profession of Meekness, which one would think should furnish but few Pretences for making a Noise, yet an Opportunity having by Chance fallen in his Way, he makes the best Use of it, in order to draw the Eyes of the World upon him; for being admitted into the Pulpit of a great Cathedral he roars out for unlimited passive Obedience.

But who can say, but that this last Exploit might have another Motive; upon second Thoughts I think it not improbable, it might proceed not so much from a Desire of making a Noise, as an Ambition of being great and rising in the World. Why might not he, like some other good Church-men, who have gone before him, be seiz'd with a noble Emulation of being great, and good for nothing? A good Deanery has a thousand pretty Conveniencies; among the rest, it is a Step to a good Bishoprick. Let us suppose our Gentleman already in Possession of a *Welsh* Bishoprick, and first let him take a Resolution never to reside there, nor so much as see it once, tho' he should enjoy it 7 Years. As to the Cure of Souls, let the Souls go to——. But let him take an exact and holy Account of the Revenues, and be as religiously careful to have them duly collected, as if his Salvation depended upon it; for it is a great Sin to suffer the Church to be wronged. In the mean Time, methinks I see the good Man sometimes strutting behind a double Chin, and great Belly, sometimes lolling at Ease in his Coach, to *Westminster* and back again; to Day dining with one great Man, and to Morrow with another, the next Day with a Third, and consulting them about his *Translations*. If he has

Sons, let him procure a civil Employment for one, and a military Employment for another; if he has Daughters, let him provide them Husbands, and instead of Portions, let him, by his Interest, get Employments for the Husbands; then let him lay his Hand upon his Heart, and with a most sanctified Look tell the World, that Pensions are heavenly Gifts, and Bribery is *Jure Divino*.

I conceive this is no bad Picture of a Bishop who should rise from such a Priest; for it is observ'd that when a Clergyman happens to be touch'd with a most violent Zeal for Preferment, he is scarce ever known to lose his Time in studying that Doctrine which Christ left to his Apostles; he goes a shorter and a better Way to do his own Business; he frequents the Levee of some Man in Power; there he cringes, and humbly desires to know what are the Principles in Vogue. It is not what St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, St. *Luke* and St. *John* taught, but what St *D* *W*—— teaches; that is the Rule of his Faith, and this is the Saint that directs his Conscience.

In some Countries the People are apt to be tumultuous when they think themselves oppressed by the Ministers. It is not above four Years since the Prime Vizier at *Constantinople* was seiz'd upon by the Populace, who tied his Legs to the Tail of a Mule, and in that Posture he was drag'd thro' the whole City.

With us, when any Measures are intended, which may appear prejudicial to our Properties, or dangerous to our Liberties, our Constitution allows us to oppose them all we can both by Writing and Speaking. The People may not only let their Representatives know their Sentiments, but also instruct them how to act upon any important Occasion. This is the Method which was taken by our People upon a late very memorable Occasion. They offer'd no In-

sults to any Man, tho' they suffer'd many Insults from the Emissaries of a certain Person; and I am heartily glad they had so much Forbearance not to return them as they deserv'd. What should we say, if after all this Lenity, we should see a Fellow A mount a Pulpit, and, like a Dragoon, hector these peaceable People for presuming to Petition, to Write, or to Speak against what they apprehended to be an Oppression.

If any Person from a Fondness of making himself remarkable, should be inclined to act such a Part as is here described, I would advise him to learn to carry a Pole upon his Chin, to stand upon his Head, or fly thro' a Hoop, because, I take it, that any of these would be a much honefter Way of distinguishing himself, than the other. But if my Advice should have no Weight, if it should happen to be some Person who had first distinguished himself at the University in the different Characters of a *Block-head* and an Advocate for Assassination, I should only say the Champion D is worthy of the Cause.

Weekly Register, Nov. 10. N^o 192.

Continuation of the Former. (See p. 561.)

THE Statue in the Area before St. Paul's, erected in Honour of the late Queen, is, upon the Whole, modell'd in a tolerable Taste, and executed as well: The principal Figure indeed, the Queen herself, is an Exception to this Character; such a formal, gothique Habit, and stiff affected Attitude, are neither to be endur'd, or pardon'd; and there is not one of those round the Base that does not justly deserve the Preference.

Men of Taste are surprized, at entering this Church, to see so many Faults, and miss so many Beauties: They discover at once that it wants Elevation to give it a proportionable

Grandeur, and Length to assist the Perspective: That the Columns are heavy and clumsy to a prodigious Degree, and rather incumber the Prospect, than enrich it with Symmetry and Beauty. At the same Time I don't deny but many Parts of the Decoration are exceedingly grand and noble. The Dome is, without Question, a very stupendous Fabrick, and strikes the Eye with an astonishing Pleasure: But yet, even here the Judge cannot help taking Notice that B it bears no Proportion to the rest of the Building, and that, after you have seen this, you can look at no other Part.

Fond as I am of Gates, I can't help wishing that *Ludgate* was intirely demolished; for, at present, it only C serves to hide St. Paul's, which would be a far nobler Termination of the Street, and actually wants a proper Point of View to survey it to Advantage.

The Steeple of St. Bride's, at first Sight, appears to a good deal of Advantage; but on ever so slight an Examination, we conclude it wants Variety, and the first and last Order are almost the same.

St. Andrew's, Holborn, has a very good Situation, but then it deserves as little as any modern Church in the whole City. The Tower is even below Criticism, but the Inside of the Building makes amends for the Awkwardness of the Out.

St. Dunstan's in Fleet-street is but an Incumbrance to the Way; without having any Thing but Deformity F itself, it spoils the Beauty of the whole Street, and hides the Prospect of Temple-Bar, which would terminate the View very advantageously.

Temple-Bar is indeed the handsomest Gate about Town, and deserves some Degree of Applause: G The Statues, on the Out-Side, are good; their only Disadvantage is the Hurry of the Place where they are to be view'd. The Structure of the Temple.

Temple-Gate is in the Stile of *Inigo Jones*, and very far from in-elegant; I wish I could say the same of the different Detachments of Building which belong to it: 'Tis certain nothing can be finer situated than the Temple, along the Side of the River. At present there is but one Thing worth observing in it, and that is the old Church which belong'd to the *Knights Templars* of *Jerusalem*; and the Out-side even of this is cover'd from the View, that the Whole might be of a Piece. The In-side, indeed, is yet visible, and may justly be esteem'd one of the best Remains of *Gothic Architecture* in this City.

The Habitation of the *Master of the Rolls*, is certainly built with Elegancy and Convenience, and can be blam'd in nothing but its Situation; which is undoubtedly as bad, as the Building itself is good.

Lincoln's-Inn may reasonably boast of one of the neatest Squares in Town; and, tho' it is imperfect on one Side, yet that very Defect produces a Beauty, by giving a Prospect to the Gardens, which fill the Space to abundantly more Advantage.

The Out-side of the Chapel, belonging to this Society, is a very good Piece of *Gothic Architecture*, and the Painting on the Windows has a great many Admirers within: In my Opinion, indeed, it does not deserve quite so much Applause as it has receiv'd. The raising this Chapel on Pillars, affords a pleasing, melancholy Walk underneath, and by Night, particularly, when, illuminated by the Lamps, it has an Effect that may be felt, but not describ'd.

Daily Courant, Nov. 14.

ON Occasion of an Expression in the last *Craftsman*, about the *Fire of London*, (See p. 564.) this Writer says: What Pity is it, that the *fifth* of *November* did not fall out this Year on a *Saturday*! How

seasonable would it have come from this *Friend of Popery* to have inserted it in his Paper for that Day, That it seems almost wonderful, the Plague was not imputed to the *Papists*, as peremptorily as burning the City of London! But his good Friends will do well to excuse him; he came out with this wonderful Banter, in his very first Paper, after the *fifth* of *November*.

Had *Fog*, the *Papist*, penn'd this Paragraph, he might have been suspected of doing it at this Time, to ridicule the Observation of the *fifth* of *November*, and to conciliate the Minds of all good Protestants, to the harmless and innocent *Papists*. But who can suspect *Bolingbroke* of any such Design? It is true, he once in his Life run over to the Pretender, and enter'd into Conspiracy against his Country; but he quitted his Service, and betray'd his Councils, as soon as ever he perceived no Good was to be done. Can this Man be looked upon as a *Friend to Popery*, or the Pretender?

But all Jesting apart. If *Fog*, and his Confederate *Bolingbroke*, think the Time is come, when they may declare openly — That *Popery* is a Bugbear to frighten Fools with; (See p. 505.) and, That it seems almost wonderful, the Plague was not imputed to the *Papists*, as peremptorily, as the Burning of London; I am sure the Time is likewise come, when all true Protestants ought to take the Alarm these Men give them, and not barely to suspect, but firmly to be persuaded, that some Scheme is now in Agitation, and ready to be executed, by too many, who call themselves Protestants, in Conjunction with the *Papists*; and, that this is the true Reason of such unusual Numbers, not only of *Papish Priests*, but of *Irish* and *French Papists*, many thousands, as can be incontestably prov'd to be *Faſt*, lodg'd up and down, in all the Out-skirts of this great City.

Free Briton, Nov. 15. N^o 211.

Vindication of WILLIAM I. Prince of Orange; in Answer to Fog.
(See p. 513.)

WHAT an Idea must it give the World in general of the Spirit of the Faction, to see a young Prince, whom willing Nations had with Transports invited to receive a Bride from their Royal Family, ready to embark for our hospitable Shores, and to visit a People of distinguished Fame for their generous Regard to Strangers; yet on his first Approaches a *Jacobite Libel* on his Family is scatter'd into all our Corners, and the Minds of Men prepared for his Reception by a Paper defaming his Ancestors!

To this mean, dishonourable and disloyal Purpose, *Bentivoglio*, and the most corrupt Historians of the *Spanish Faction*, who disguise and palliate the Duke of *Alva's* Tyranny in the *Low Countries*, and all the exorbitant Oppressions which roused the Spirit of the People to assert their Liberties; these are revived as Authors proper to defame *William the First of Orange*; and his Glory, which was beyond the Reach of the base *Assassin* who murdered him, is now invaded on the Credit of *Historians*, the virtuous Colleagues of that very *Assassin*.

I had ever been of Opinion with the late Bishop *Barnet*, concerning this Great Man's Character: *All agree*, says this Prelate, *that William the first Prince of Orange was one of the greatest Men in Story, who, after many Attempts for the Recovery of the Liberty of the Provinces, was in Conclusion successful, and formed that Republick.*

And Sir *William Temple* gives him this Character, in express Opposition to the *Spanish* and *Italian* Writers. He was, says he, a Man of equal Abilities in Council and in Arms; cautious and resolute, affable and severe;

supple to Occasions, and yet constant to his Ends; of mighty Revenues and Dependents in the Provinces; of great Credit and Alliance in Germany; esteemed and honoured abroad; but at Home infinitely loved and trusted by the People, who thought him affectionate to their Country, sincere in his Professions and Designs, able and willing to defend their Liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any Ambition of his own.

This is that Prince of Orange, whose Memory the Author of *Fog* hath with so little Truth or Mercy defamed; a Prince who rescued the People of the *Low Countries* from the most raging Tyranny, from the bloody Proscriptions which destroyed their Nobles; from rampant Plunderings, and cold Blood-Butcheries; from the abandoned Insolence of the *D. of Alva*, and the Introduction of the most pestilent *Spanish Inquisition*: This is he from whom the illustrious Person, whose Extraction deserves the Marriage of the Princess Royal, derives his Title with a Character worthy of his Descent; a Prince not more allied to that excellent Prince of Orange in Blood, than in all his Virtues and Endowments.

Craftsman, Nov. 17. N^o 384.

The same Subject continued. (See p. 564.)

THERE is a Passage in *Jully* so applicable to the mischievous, but transitory, Prevalence of those Principles of Government, which *K. James I.* imported into this Country, that since it occurs to my Memory, I cannot begin this Paper better than by quoting it, and making a short Commentary on it. * *Opinionum Commenta delet Dies, Naturæ Judicia confirmat.* Groundless Opinions are destroyed, but rational Judgments, or the Judgments of Nature, are confirmed by Time.

* L. 2. de Nat. Dior.

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The Authority of a *Señ*, and much more of a *State*, is able to inspire, and Habit to confirm the most *absurd Opinions*. Passion, or Interest, can create *Zeal*. But nothing can give Stability and durable Uniformity to *Error*. Indolence, or Ignorance, may keep it floating, as it were, on the Surface of the Mind, and sometimes hinder *Truth* from penetrating; or Force may maintain it in Profession, when the Mind assents to it no longer. Men are dragged into such *Opinions*, and held down in them, by Chains of Circumstances. Break but these Chains, and the Mind returns with a Kind of intellectual Elasticity to its proper Object, *Truth*.

The absurd *Opinions* about the *Right, Power and Prerogative of Kings*, were so little able to take a deep Root, and to stand the Blasts of Opposition, that Few of *those*, who drew their Swords on the Side of *K. Charles I.* were determined to it by them. A more recent Tradition assures us, that when the *same Opinions* revived at the *Restoration*, they did not sink deep even then into the Minds of Men, but floated so superficially there, that the *Parliament*, (the very *Parliament* who had authorized them and imposed them) proceeded a great Way, and was ready to have proceeded farther, in direct Opposition to them. A Tradition still more recent will inform us, that when these *Opinions* revived again, at the latter End of the same Reign, with an Appearance of greater Strength, and of a more national Concurrence than ever, they revived but to be exploded more effectually than ever. Thus were *these wicked and ridiculous Principles of Government* twice revived, and twice destroyed again, in less than 30 Years from the *Restoration*.

The *second Revival of these Principles*, happen'd soon after the Dissolution of the *long Parliament*; and there, I think, we must place the Birth of *Whig* and *Tory*; tho' *these*

Parties did not grow up into full Maturity, nor receive their Names! till about two Years afterwards. The Dissolution of *this Parliament* was desired by Men of very different Complexions; by *some*, with factious Views; by *others*, on this honest and true Maxim, *that a standing Parliament, or the same Parliament long continued, changes the very Nature of our Constitution in the fundamental Article, on which the Preservation of our whole Liberty depends*. But the Motives, which prevailed on the *King*, were probably these. *This Parliament* not only grew more reserved in their Grants of *Money*, but seem'd to have lost that personal Regard, which they had hitherto preserved for him. They brought their Attacks home to his *Family*; nay, to *himself*, in the Heats, which the Discovery and Prosecution of the *Popish Plot* occasioned. That on the *Queen* provok'd him. That on his *Bratber* embarrass'd him. But that, which provoked and embarrass'd him both, was the Prosecution of the Earl of *Danby*, in the Manner in which it was carried on.

Now, whether the *King* hoped, by dissolving the *Parliament*, to stop *this Prosecution*; or to soften that of the *Popish Plot*; or to defeat the Project of excluding the Duke of *York*; his Hopes were all disappointed. The following *Parliaments* trod in the Steps of this. How, indeed, could they do otherwise in those Days, when the Temper of the *People* determin'd the Character of the *Parliament*; when an *Influence on Elections*, by *Prerogative*, was long since over, and private, indirect Means of gaining another more illegal *Influence*, were not yet found, or the necessary Supports of such Means were not yet acquired?

There was indeed *one Point*, which this *Parliament* had taken extremely to Heart, and which was no longer open to the *Parliaments* that follow-

ed; I mean the *Conduct of the King in foreign Affairs*, during the War between *France*, and *Holland* and her Allies, which ended by the Treaty of *Nimighen*.

The two Points, which were still open, were the Prosecution of Persons involved in the *Popish Plot*, and the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*. The first of these had prepared Mankind for the second. I know how partial we are in the Judgments we make, concerning ourselves, and our own Interests. I know that this Partiality is the immediate Effect of Self-Love, the strongest Spring in the human, nay in the whole animal System; and yet I cannot help being surprized that a Man should expect to be trusted with a *Crown*, because he is born a *Prince*, in a Country where he could not be trusted by Law, and ought not to be trusted in Reason, with a *Constable's Staff*, if he was born a *private Person*.

The violent and sanguinary Prosecution of the *Popish Plot* was intended, no Doubt, to make the Success of the *Exclusion* more secure, by raising the Passions of Men so high, that no Expedient but an *absolute and immediate Exclusion*, in the Terms of the *Bill*, should be thought sufficient. I cannot help saying, on this Occasion, that I wish this laudable and just Design had not been pursued, by wading thro' the Blood of so many Men; Enemies to our *Religion* and *Liberty* indeed; but convicted, for the most Part, on Evidence, which could hardly have passed at any other Time. In fine, I wish, for the Honour of my Country, that the Prosecutions, on Account of *this Plot*, and much more on Account of *another*, which was set up as a Kind of Retaliation for *this*, and which caused some of the noblest, as well as some of the meanest Blood in the Nation to be spilt, could be erased out of the Records of History.

As soon as the Court had got, by

Management, a plausible Pretence of objecting a *Spirit of Faction* to those in the *Opposition*, the Strength of the *Opposition* was broken, because the *national Union* was dissolved. Such a Dissolution of a *Country Party* was brought about at this Period; by the Passions, the publick Pique, and private Interest of *particular Men*, and by the wily Intrigues of the *Court*. The Dissolution of *this Party*, and the new Division of the Nation into *Whig* and *Tory*, brought us into extreme Danger. This extreme Danger reunited the Nation again, and a *Coalition of Parties* saved the whole. The Swell of the Sea continued long, after the Storm was over; and we have seen *these Parties* kick and cuff, like drunken Men, when they were both of the same Side. Let us hope that this Scene of tragical Folly is over, to the Disappointment of *those*, who are conscious of *past Iniquity*, or who meditate *future Mischiefs*.

Fog's Journal, Nov. 17. N^o 263.

Advice to the Free-Men of Dublin, in the Choice of a Member to represent them in Parliament.

I Am told, there are only two Persons who set up for Candidates; one, is the present Lord Mayor, and the other, a Gentleman, of good Esteem, an Alderman of the City, a Merchant of Reputation, and possessed of a considerable Office under the Crown.

We consist here of two Parties, I do not mean Popish and Protestant, High and Low Church, Episcopal and Sectarians, Whig and Tory; but of those *English* who happen to be born in this Kingdom, (whose Ancestors reduced the whole Nation under the Obedience of the *English* Crown,) and the Gentlemen sent from t'other Side to possess most of the chief Employments here: This latter Party is very much enlarged, and strengthened by the whole Power in the

the Church, the Law, the Army, the Revenue, and the Civil Administration deposited in their Hands: Although out of political Ends, and to save Appearances, some Employments are still deposited (yet gradually in a smaller Number) to Persons born here.

Civil Employments of all Kinds, have been, for several Years past, made precarious, and during Pleasure; by which Means the Possessors must inevitably be for ever dependent: Yet those very few of any Consequence, which are dealt with so sparing a Hand to Persons born among us, are enough to keep Hope alive in great Numbers who desire to mend their Condition by the Favour of those in Power.

Now, my dear Fellow Citizens, how is it possible for you to conceive, that any Person who holds an Office of some hundred Pounds a Year, which may be taken from him whenever Power shall think fit, will, if he should be chosen a Member for any City, do the least Thing when he sits in the House, that he knows or fears may be displeasing to those who gave him or continue him in that Office?

There is an *Englishman* of no long Standing among us, but in an Employment of great Trust, Power, and Profit. This excellent Person did lately publish, at his own Expence, a Pamphlet printed in *England* by Authority, to justify the Bill for a *general Excise*, or Inland Duty, in order to introduce that blessed Scheme among us. What a tender Care must such an *English* Patriot for *Ireland* have of our Interest, if he should condescend to sit in our Parliament!

I will now apply what I have said to you, my Brethren and Fellow Citizens. Count upon it as a Truth next to your Creed, that no one in Office, of which he is not Master for Life, whether born here or in *Eng-*

land, will ever hazard that Office for the Good of this Country. One of your Candidates is of this Kind, and I believe him to be an honest Gentleman, as the Word *honest* is generally understood. But he loves his Employment better than he does you, or his Country, or all the Countries upon Earth.

Wherefore, since there are but two Candidates, I intreat you will fix on the present Lord Mayor. He hath no Employment under the Crown; nor is likely to get or sollicit for any; his Education having not turned him that Way. I will assure for no Man's future Conduct, but he who hath hitherto practised the Rules of Virtue with so much Difficulty, in so great and busy a Station, deserves your Thanks, and the best Return you can make him; and you, my Brethren, have no other to give him, than that of representing you in Parliament.

Weekly Register, Nov 17. N^o 193.

The same Subject continued. (See p. 568.)

FROM the Terrass of *Lincoln's-Inn Gardens*, we have a Prospect of one of the largest Squares in *Europe*: It was originally laid out by the masterly Hand of *Inigo Jones*, and intended to have been built all in the same Stile and Taste: But, by the Miscarriage of this, and many other such noble Designs, there is too much Reason to believe that *England* will never be able to produce People of Taste enough to be of the same Mind, or unite their Sentiments for the publick Ornament and Reputation.

The Duke of *Ancafter's* House is built on the abovemention'd Model of *Inigo Jones*, but so elevated, and improv'd, as to make it more suitable to the Quality of the Owner: There is great Simplicity and Beauty in the Plan itself; as much Harmony and Pro-

Proportion in the Parts 'tis compos'd of, and the Decorations are well fancied, and as well dispos'd.

Sorry I am that the House adjoining to this, so lately rebuilt on the same Design, is not exactly like it in all Particulars: The Alterations, which have been made in it, are very far from improving it; what it has gain'd in Height, it has lost in Proportion, and what is added of Decoration, is deviating from Simplicity and Beauty: Besides it hurts the whole Side of the Square, which these two Houses are properly the Centre of. 'Tis my Opinion that, in all Squares, there should be a capital Building, in the Middle of each Side, which should serve to fix the Eye, and give the better Air of Magnificence to the Prospect,

Great Queen-street is another Instance of our national Want of Taste; on one Side is a Row of Houses that *Italy* itself would not be ashamed of; on the other, all the Variety of Deformation.

Covent-Garden would have been one of the finest Squares in the Universe, if finish'd on the Plan, that *Inigo Jones* first design'd for it; but even this was neglected too. The Piazza is grand and noble, and the Super-Structure, it supports, light and elegant: The Church here is, without a Rival, one of the most perfect Pieces of Architecture that the Art of Man can produce: Nothing can possibly be imagin'd more simple, and yet Magnificence itself can hardly give greater Pleasure.

Leicester-Square has nothing remarkable in it, but the Inclosure in the Middle, which alone affords the Inhabitants, round about it, something like the Prospect of a Garden, and preserves it from the Rudeness of the Populace too.

The Stables, at the *Mense*, are certainly a very grand and noble Building, but then they are in a very singular Taste; a Mixture of the *Rustic*,

and the *Gothic* together; the Middle-Gate is built after the first, and the Towers over the two others, in the last.

I could wish that a View was open'd from hence to *St. Martin's Church*; I don't know any one of the modern Buildings about Town which better deserves such an Advantage: The Portico is at once elegant and august, and the Steeple, above it, ought to be consider'd as one of the most tolerable in Town: The round Columns, at each Angle of the Church, are very well conceiv'd, and have a very fine Effect, in the Profile of the Building: The East End is remarkably elegant. In short, if there is any Thing wanting in this Fabrick, 'tis a little more Elevation, which I presume is apparently wanted within, and would create an additional Beauty without.

St. James's-Square has an Appearance of Grandeur superior to any other Plan in Town, and yet there is not any one elegant House in it; and the Side, next *Pall-Mall*, is scandalously rude and irregular. Beside, I can never thoroughly applaud the Basen itself, till 'tis finish'd as it ought, with a Statue or Obelisk in the Middle.

London Journal, Nov. 24. N^o 752.

Reflections on the last Craftsman, (See P. 570.)

THE Business of the last Craftsman is to shew, that the *Jacobites* and *Tories* have entirely lost their Principles, and that Time hath worn them quite out. His Text is from a Passage in *Tully*, That groundless Opinions are destroy'd, but rational Judgments, or the Judgments of Nature, are confirm'd by Time. But, tho' *Tully*, or an Oracle had said this, it is not always, nor generally true; which our Author himself allows in his very next Paragraph, (so hard 'tis for a Man to agree

agree with himself, when he contradicts Truth!) For his Words are, *That the Authority of a Sect, and much more of a State, is able to inspire, and Habit to confirm the most absurd Opinions.* This is certainly true; and yet this Gentleman, in direct Contradiction to himself says, immediately after, *That nothing can give Stability and durable Uniformity to Error.* Now, what does our Author think of *Spain*, and other Countries abroad? But, can nothing give Stability, or durable Uniformity to Error, when the Authority of a Sect, much more of a State, when Fashion or Custom can inspire, and Habit confirm the most absurd Opinions?

What our Author has said about the Opinions of divine hereditary Right being revived and destroy'd, and reviv'd again and destroyed, is an Argument against himself: For, if this be the Case, how shall we know they are dead now, or be assured that they won't live again, when 'tis the miraculous Nature of those High-Church Notions to die and rise again; to revive, to be exploded; and exploded, to be revived? From this History of the Life and Death, and Death and Life, and Life and Death again, of these Tory-Principles, it doth not follow, that the Tories are now absolutely or really dead; but only, that they seem to sleep, and craftily lie by, till they have Occasion for their Principles; for, at this Time, 'tis absolutely necessary to conceal, or rather appear against them.

Universal Spectator, Nov. 24. N^o 268.

Of modern Free-Thinking.

THO' nothing is nobler in itself, yet nothing has been more corrupted, or prov'd of more pernicious Consequence, than the favourite Doctrine of Free-Thinking; that Term which should distinguish the wise Philosopher and the good Christian from the Fool and the Bigot, is by Misapplication, not unjustly become the synonymous Term

for the Libertine and the Atheist. To think freely, is not, to think at Random; our Freedom therefore of Thought, if we wou'd enjoy it only as wise Men, is to be under proper Regulations; but if we wou'd enjoy it as most of our modern Free-Thinkers do, we are to be confin'd by no Laws at all: The best Things have sometimes degenerated into the worst, and nothing is a more evident Proof of it, than the present Corruption of Free-thinking. Tho' it must be granted, it was that laudable Spirit, which first inspir'd this Nation to break off from the tyrannic Superstition of the Church of Rome; and, if well regulated, will ever be the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion; yet as it is now for the most Part manag'd, it will not be a Preservative against a false Religion, but an Introduction to none at all. There are, I am very well assur'd, little Societies or Clubs form'd in different Parts of this Metropolis, where, under the Notion of spending an Evening in the Search after Knowledge, and in the Improvement of the Mind, several honest Citizens have been deluded into a Spirit of Infidelity.

The ill Consequences of this boasted Liberty are shewn in a Letter from Sopronia, complaining of her Husband (an eminent Tradesman in this City,) once in every Respect a Man of a virtuous Character; but from frequenting one of these Clubs, and falling in with their Notions, he became a downright Debauchee, a bad Husband, a bad Parent, and a bad Master.

Weekly Register, Nov. 24. N^o 194.

The same Subject continued. (See p. 573.)

ST. James's Church is finely situated; and if it had been built in a suitable Taste, would have appeared most nobly, to fill the Vista, and add a Pomp to the whole View. In

In *Piccadilly* we are entertained with a Sight of the most expensive Wall in *England*; I mean that before *Burlington-House*. Nothing material can be objected to it, and much may be said in its Praise. The Height is wonderfully well proportion'd to the Length, the Decorations are both simple and magnificent, and the grand Entrance is august and beautiful.

That Side of *Arlington-street*, next the *Green Park*, is one of the most beautiful Situations in *Europe*: The Front of the Street is in the Midst of the Hurry and Splendour of the Town, and the Back in the Quiet and Simplicity of the Country.

'Tis impossible to survey the Ruins of *Devonshire-House*, without sympathizing with the noble Owner, in deploring its Destruction. (See p. 528.) Had his Grace's Servants recollected their Master's Motto, *Cavendo tutus*, it had still retained its antient Splendour; but, as they did not understand the Beauties of *Inigo Jones's* Architecture, so they were not concerned for its Preservation.

Between this and *Hyde-Park-Corner*, there is nothing more remarkable, except the Shops and Yards of the *Statuaries*; and sorry I am that they afford a judicious Foreigner such flagrant Opportunities to arraign and condemn our Taste.

Nothing is more amazing to me, than the Ignorance of most of our Gentry in the polite Arts, and in Statuary particularly; which is so flagrant, that, among the vast Numbers of Statues, which are to be seen in the Gardens of this Nation, 'tis almost a Miracle if you find one good one; And there are as few Statues well situated, as chosen.

The *Strand* is incumber'd, at its very Entrance, in a most scandalous Degree, and, to mend the Matter too, in Complaisance to the superstitious Custom of a due East and West Situation, they have crowded the Backside of the Church of *St. Cle-*

ment's into the Face of the People, if I may be allow'd the Expression; even tho' they had Room enough to build it otherwise, and prevent so capital a Nuisance. Neither does the Fabrick itself make any amends for this Inconvenience, by its Beauty and Magnificence,

The *New Church* in the *Strand* is one of the strongest Instances in the World, that 'tis not Expence and Decoration that are alone productive of Harmony and Taste: The Architect of this Pile appears to have set down with a Resolution of making it as *fine* as possible, and, with this View, has crowded every Inch of Space about it with Ornament: Nay, he has even carried this Humour so far, that it appears nothing but a Cluster of Ornaments, without the proper Vacuities, to relieve the Eye, and give a necessary Contraste to the Whole: The Steeple is liable to as many Objections as the Church, 'tis abundantly too high, and, in the Profile, loses all Kind of Proportion. In short, this Church will always please the *Ignorant*, for the very same Reasons that it is sure to displease the Judge.

Fog's Journal, Nov. 24. N^o 264.

E *The antient and present State of France.*

THE antient Frame of the Government of *France* was as wisely contrived for making the People happy, as that of any other Nation in the World. *Machiavil*, who lived about the 15th Century, speaks of it, as the best Constitution for Men to live under, in his Time; because, (says he) the Regal Power is there confined within certain Bounds, by the Authority lodg'd in the Assemblies of the Estates, and in that of the Parliament of *Paris*.

It will be asked, no Doubt, what is become of this Liberty now? In a Word it is lost; the Royal Prerogative

gative has by Degrees made so many Encroachments upon it, that at Length it has destroyed it all. So great a Weight has from Time to Time been thrown into the Royal Scale, that the Balance, which ought to keep the Beam even betwixt arbitrary Power, and popular Licence, has been quite destroy'd. Standing Armies, and numerous Excises, have broken the Spirits of the Common People, and impoverished the midling Gentry, and the vast Increase of Military and Civil Employments have brought such Numbers of Families, both of the Nobility and Gentry, to be some way or other dependent upon the Court, that when the People are oppress'd, they know not which Way to turn, or where to apply for Relief.

It will be asked again, if *France* be in such a Condition, how comes it to pass, that being quite exhausted with a long War, in the Space of 20 Years, we see their Cities replenish'd with People, their Trade extended, their publick Debts decreased, and at the same Time the Taxes lessened?

To this it may be answer'd, that arbitrary Government, wisely and honestly administer'd, may produce all these good Effects; and it is impossible, that Things can have been changed so much for the better in that Country, without a most frugal Management, and wise OEconomy. Had they been harrassed with as many Troops in Time of Peace as in Time of War, had they been burthen'd to pay useless Employments and viler Pensioners, had neither their publick Debts nor Taxes been lessened after a Peace of 20 Years, had their trading Subjects been plundered by Foreigners, for want of Protection, had their Treasures been squander'd away in buying Treaties and Alliances of no Strength to their Interests; had all this and worse been their Fate, must they not have bow'd

their Necks under the Yoak, and received no Comfort, but to be told by a Pack of insolent Mercenaries, that it was Damnation so much as to complain against the higher Powers?

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Craftsman, Nov. 24. N^o 385.

Ministerial Writings, Parliamentary Elections, &c.

THE most mercenary, and, in every Sense, the worst of Writers (says a Correspondent of

Mr. D'Anvers) have been employ'd to calumniate Gentlemen, in the Interest of their Country, by the most notorious Falshoods. Their Writings, which otherwise would have been the Ruin of their *Printers*, have been distributed at the publick Expence. The *Mercuries of the Post-house* are the wholesale Dealers, who convey them to the *Excise*, and *Custom-house Officers*; and these hawk them out to *Coffee-houses* and *Inns*, unrequell'd and Duty-free. On the other Hand, all Pamphlets, or Papers, which speak in Defence of *Liberty*, and attack the *Enemies of our Constitution*, are prohibited. No

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Clerk in the Office dares transmit them to his Correspondents in the Country, under Pain of Dismission, or having the Privilege of *Franking* taken away. Whoever has gloriously opposed the Designs of an odious *Projector*, is represented as a *Jacobite*, or a *Republican*; and because a Gentleman hath disdain'd to join in bringing in an *Excise*, it is immediately insinuated, that he is a *Friend to the Pretender*. I must confess that *Papery* and *Jacobitism* ought to be treated with the utmost Abhorrence. But should they be treated with less, who, assuming another Title, act upon the Principles of both? I would ask any fair Trader, who is perpetually harrass'd by a vexatious *Exciseman*, whether he receives any Comfort from being told, that the Fellow is an Enemy to the *Pope*, and does not believe

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one Word of *Transubstantiation*? There are Oppressors of all Sorts and Persuasions. Cardinal *Wolsey* was a *Papist*; and another Gentleman now living may be a very good *Protestant*, for ought I know; but I am sure *Wolsey* could not have broach'd a worse Scheme than he hath lately done.

Every Body, who has made any Observations upon the Factions of this Kingdom, must know that the Sect of *Jacobites* is greatly diminished within these few Years; and if the *Papists* are increased, it is because our *Church-men* are more intent on *civil* than *religious Matters*. Would a certain Fraternity of *venerable Sages*, whom I could mention, cease to be *political* and become *pious*; would they turn *Champions for Religion*, instead of being *Advocates for Men in Power*; I do not doubt but they would soon detect the Errors of the *Papists*, and in some Measure conceal their own. But while they spend their whole Time in writing *ministerial Pamphlets* and *Letters*, directing Freemen in the Choice of their Representatives, it is no Wonder that the artful and industrious Priests of *Rome* should make their Advantage of it, and gain more Converts to their *Church* than the others do to the *State*.

Of all the *ministerial Grubs*, I own myself most pleased with the *Couranteers*. There is something very diverting in the Writings of these Men; who put themselves into a great Passion, because no body will answer them; and fight very manfully under their *Patron's* Banners, without any Adversary. Indeed, Mr. *D'Anvers*, I cannot help saying that it is a little cruel in you to treat them with so much Contempt. You know very well that they are retained in Pay, as Men of Abilities; but if no body will take Notice of them, the *great Man*, perhaps, will draw some Conclusion to their Disadvantage, and discard them for a Parcel of *filly Fellows*, who can do his Cause no Good. Now, in this Case, you may be justly charged with robbing them of their Bread; and therefore I could wish that you would now and then just mention them, by Way of Charity.

There is no one Truth in *Mathematicks* more evident than that our Representatives ought to be Persons superior to the sordid Views of *Self-Interest*; for otherwise they may be induced to make a Traffick of that sacred Trust, reposed in them. The Persons least to be suspected of *Corruption* are those, who enjoy a considerable Share of Property; and therefore the Legislature has wisely instituted that no Man should be admitted into this high Charge, who has not an Estate in some Measure suitable to the Dignity of his Character. The indigent Man is under a thousand Temptations to be dishonest. For this Reason, it has been always a principal Art of *wicked Ministers* to render Elections as expensive as possible; that they may deter *Country Gentlemen* from engaging in them, and procure their

own Creatures to be returned; or if that *Stratagem* fails, the *Gentlemen of the Country* may be so oppressed with the Debts they have contracted in the Service of their Fellow-Subjects, that they must be obliged to betray their Interests to save themselves and their Families from Ruin. This wicked Scheme has, in former Ages, been so common and so fatal, that the Legislature was at length forced to enact an honest Law to prevent it; I mean, the late *Act against Bribery and Corruption*. By that *Act direct Bribery* is, I hope, effectually prevented; but if *expensive Treats and Feastings* are expected from the Candidates, and required as necessary Qualifications, the fatal Inconveniences still remain, and will in Time destroy our Constitution.

It was once the Opinion of the *King, Lords and Commons* that no Man, who had a *Place, or Pension from the Crown*, should sit among the *Representatives of the Commons of England*. It is difficult for any Man to serve two Masters; and to distinguish, when Contests arise, which ought to prevail, his Gratitude to his *King*, or his Duty to his *Country*.

These Considerations principally relate to new Candidates. The Gentlemen, who have served before, and make Application again for the Voices of their Countrymen, will necessarily be judged by their former Conduct. If any are discovered to have been instrumental in betraying the *Liberties of the Subject*, committed to their Care; ready, upon all Occasions, to lay new Burthens upon *Traders*, by reviving *old Duties*, and *new modelling others*; they will be treated with the utmost Contempt. It must be evident to all Men, that the *Liberties of Englishmen* now depend upon the approaching Crisis. Should the *Electors of Great Britain* make but one false Step, in all Probability it would be irretrievable.

Few States have lost their Liberties by *foreign Conquest*, or *external Invasions*, in Proportion to those, which have been enslaved by the Bribery of their *Magistrates*, and the Corruption of the *People*. *Rome*, that had conquered the World, was enslaved by the *Venality of the People*. But I hope that will never be our Case. At least, the present Spirit of the *People*, which discovers itself thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, gives us a better Prospect. It is credibly reported that a few Persons at *Taunton*, who had it in their Power to turn the Election of a *Mayor*, lately refused a Sum of *two thousand Pounds* for their Votes upon that Occasion; and we have had some Instances of the like Nature at *Rockester* and other Places. If the *Electors* in general would follow these Examples, they would not only purge themselves from the Imputation of *Corruption*, but prove the glorious Instruments of preserving our Constitution in its full Vigour.

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

Boston in New-England,
Sept. 4, 1733.

S I R,

BY inserting the two following Poems, you will oblige several of your Subscribers in this Country, and in particular,

Your humble Servant,
A. B.

The Poet's Lamentation for the Loss of his Cat,
which he used to call his Muse.

Felis quædam Delicium erat cujusdam
Adolescentis. *ÆSOP.*

O'ppress'd with grief, in heavy strains I mourn
The partner of my studies from me torn:
How shall I sing? what numbers shall I chuse?
For in my fav'rite cat I've lost my muse.

No more I feel my mind with raptures fir'd,
I want those airs that Pals so oft inspir'd;
No crowding thoughts my ready fancy fill,
Nor words run fluent from my easy quill:
Yet shall my verse deplore her cruel fate,
And celebrate the virtues of my cat.

In acts obscene she never took delight;
No catterwauls disturb'd our sleep by night;
Chaste as a virgin, free from every stain,
And neigg'ring cats mew'd for her love in vain.

She never thirsted for the chickens blood;
Her teeth she only us'd to chew her food:
Harmless as satires which her master writes,
A foe to scratching, and unus'd to bites.

She in the study was my constant mate;
There we together many evenings sat.
When'er I felt my tow'ring fancy fail,
I strok'd her head, her ears, her back, and tail;
And, as I strok'd, improv'd my dying song
From the sweet notes of her melodious tongue;
Her purrs and meows so evenly kept time,
She purr'd in metre and she mew'd in rhyme.
But when my dullness has too stubborn prov'd,
Nor could by Pals's musick be remov'd,
Oft to the well-known volumes have I gone,
And stole a line from Pope or Addison.

Oftimes, when lost amidst poetic heat,
She leaping on my knee has took her seat;
There saw the throes that rack'd my lab'ring brain,
And lick'd and claw'd me to myself again.

Then, friends, indulge my grief, and let me
mourn;

My cat is gone, ah! never to return.
Now in my study all the tedious night,
Alone I sit, and unassisted write:
Look often round (O greatest cause of pain)
And view the numerous labours of my brain;
Those quires of words array'd in pompous rhyme,
Which brav'd the jaws of all-devouring time,
Now undefended, and unwatch'd by cats,
Are doom'd a victim to the teeth of rats,

On Mr. B——s's singing an Hymn of his
own composing, at Sea, on a Voyage from
Boston to an Interview with the Indians in
New England.

IN David's psalms, an oversight,
B—— found one morning at his tea:
Alas! why did not David write
A proper psalm to sing at sea?

Thus ruminating, on his seat,
Ambitious thoughts at length prevail'd;
The bard determin'd to compleat
The part in which the prophet sail'd.
A while he paus'd, and strok'd his muse;
Then, taking up his tuneful pen,
Wrote a few stanzas for the use
Of his sea-faring bretheren.

The task perform'd, the bard content,
(Well chosen was each flowing word)
On a short voyage himself he went,
To bear it read and sung on board.

What extasies of joy appear!
What pleasure and unknown delights
Thrill the vain poet's soul to bear
Others repeat the things he writes.

Most aged Christians do aver
(Their credit sure we may rely on)
In former times, that after prayer,
They us'd to sing a song of Zion.

Our modern parson having pray'd,
(Unless loud fame our faith beguiles)
Sat down, took out his book and say'd,
Let's sing a song of M—— B——s.

As soon as he began to read,
Their heads th' assembly downward hung;
Yet he with boldness did proceed,
And thus he read, and thus they sung.

The Hymn.

WITH vast amazement we survey
The wonders of the deep:
Where mack'rel swim, and porpoise play,
And crabs and lobsters creep.

Fish of all kinds inhabit there,
And throng the dark abode;
There baddock, hake and flounders are,
And eels, and perch, and cod.

From raging winds and tempests free,
So smooth, that, as you pass,
The shining surface seems to be
A piece of Bristol glass.

But when the winds tempestuous rise,
And foaming billows swell,
The vessel mounts above the skies,
Then lower sinks than bell.

Our brains the tottering motion feel,
And quickly we become
Giddy as new-dropt calves, and reel
Like Indians drunk with rum,

What praises then are due, that we

Thus far are safely got ;

* Amarriscoggin tribe to see,
And tribe of * Penobscot !

A Nuptial Hymn: In Imitation of the
18th Idyllium of Theocritus, on the
Marriage of Menelaus with Helen.

IN Sparta once, when Menelaus led
The blushing Helen to the bridal bed ;
A frolic quire of virgins blithe and gay,
Fair as the birth of spring, and mild as May,
(Their hair inwreath'd with each rich-tinctur'd
flow'r)

To the soft cittern danc'd before the bow'r ;
And while their feet in wanton measures play,
The soft assembly sung this nuptial lay.

Hail prince, whom Cytherea wast'd o'er,
With happy omens from thy native shore.
Oh ! may her altars blaze, who gave thy love,
The radiant daughter of the Cretan Jove.
Oh ! may the off-spring from that soft caress,
In miniature the mother's charms express ;
Like her all gay, all blooming may be he,
He a new Cupid, as a Venus see.

We come, a beauteous train, who us'd to sport
On smooth Eurota's banks, our cool resort ;
Where, bath'd with od'rous oils, each shining last,
Would dress her beauties in his natural glass.
Tho' each as bright as morn, as evening fair,
Our forms their lustre lose, when Helen's near ;
For she superiour charms with sprightlier grace,
And Harmony with skill has form'd her face :
Nor does a sister blush Aurora deck,
Or tinge with livelier hue her ruddy cheek.

When o'er the web her curious fingers rove ;
Who can behold her, and forbear to love ?
With such gay art the mingling colours join'd
Express each soft idea of her mind.

No tender nymph of all the virgin quire,
So sweet can tune the voice, or touch the lyre.
She's perfect all ; and nature joins with art,
To charm each eye, and ravish ev'ry heart.

For thee, sweet bride, we through the valleys
stray ;

But sigh to find that Helen is away :
A hundred nymphs, in beauty fresh and fair,
There cull the choicest flow'rs to bind thy hair ;
Where fragrant hyacinths their forms disclose,
The maiden lilly, and the silken rose.

Then, while perfumes around their odours breathe,
We on the myrtle hang the various wreath :
And, grief diverting with our rural play,
Deep on the bark inscribe this tender lay :

' Fair youths, and smiling maids, bow low to me,
' For I was Venus' once, now Helen's tree.'

Hail wedded pair ! and may you still receive,
Each sweet that you can wish, or Hymen give ;
May Venus, and her son, for ever nigh,
With lighted torch your mutual flame supply.
Blest pair, in sweet embraces lie reclin'd,
Your souls united, as your bodies join'd ;

* The Names of two of the Indian Tribes.

There sleep till morn :—but at the prime of day,
Awake, again to bear the bridal lay.

Rejoice, O Hymen : for till now thy care
Ne'er join'd a prince so gay, a nymph so fair.

A Paraphrase on Psalm VIII.

A PINDARICK ODE.

I.

JEHOVAH, sov'reign God and Lord
Sustaining this created frame,
To nature's utmost bounds ador'd,
How great, how excellent thy name !
Thou bidst thy sacred glory fly
Beyond th' expansion of the sky,
Above the highest heav'ns, high.

II.

Thy praise employs the seraphs lays,
Suckling infants show thy praise.
From stamm'ring mouth at thy command,
Strength resistless is ordain'd.
The giant wretch who dares to cope with thee,
Yields to the meanest child of piety ;
Unwilling hearts confess th' Almighty's ban
Nor can the wise object, nor can the strong
withstand.

III.

Thy pow'r divine no limit knows,
Weakness itself obeys thy call ;
Still is the rage of clam'rous foes,
And down the proud avengers fall.

I.

Thy heavens oft, stupendous round !
In contemplation I admire,
Those heavens which thy hands did found ;
The sun, whose unexhausted fire,
Does light and heat to earth convey,
Runs joyous his commanded way,
Unwearied monarch of the day.

II.

The moon who, regent of the night,
Shines with delegated ray ;
The stars which constant seem to fight,
Stars that regularly stray :
Which first thy plastick will from nothing brought,
Assign'd their stations, and their courses taught :
Distinct with worlds yon azure vault appears,
Seasons and days to mark, and guide revolving
years.

III.

Lord what is man ! amaz'd I cry,
Whose mould is dust, and life a span,
That thou regardest from on high,
With such respect, the son of man.

I.

Nature, and nature's God, to see,
Mankind, thy wisdom did ordain,
To serve his Maker call'd to be,
But o'er his Maker's works to reign.
Thine awful image found to bear,
Thou mad'st him with peculiar care,
And all the Trinity was there.

II.

On humble earth his seat was plac'd,
Than th' angelick orders, lower,
Yet him thy bounteous mercy grac'd,
Crown'd with dignity and pow'r.
Nay, midst the splendor of the throne of God,
Will highest angels, in that blest abode,
Revere the nature they excell'd before,
Join'd to the Son of man, the Son of God adore.

III.

Man governs all things here below,
They serve his grandeur, or his need;
Laborious oxen drag his plough,
And sheep for his convenience bleed.

I.

Nor only tamer beasts we find,
To man, their lord, obedience yield;
But ev'ry fierce and savage kind
That range the desert and the field.
Each monster upon Africk's shore,
And captive lions, while they rear,
Submit reluctant to his pow'r.

II.

Of birds, the various feather'd race,
Lightly fleeting through the sky,
To him perpetual homage pays,
From his empire cannot fly:
And fishes that through paths of ocean stray;
From shoals that num'rous, and that nameless play,
To vast Leviathan disporting wide,
Created without fear, king of the sons of pride.

III.

Jehovah, sov'reign God and Lord,
Sustaining this created frame,
To nature's utmost bounds ador'd,
How great, how excellent thy name!

A new Prologue to *Tamerlane*, wrote
by Mr. Edward Phillips, and spoke
by Mr. Ryan on the 5th and 6th of
Nov. at the Theatre Royal in
Covent Garden.

BRITONS, if thro' past ages ye survey
Each noted annal, each distinguish'd day,
Which for the happiest Æra's stand confess'd,
Mark'd out with white superiour to the rest:
Or cou'd ye time's vast chronicle explore,
And careful turn the wond'rous volume o'er;
No day you'd find throughout the book of fate
Than this more happy, or than this more great.
This day a Nassau brought, whose patriot hand
Refix'd the tott'ring frame of Albion's land:
Made Britons what by nature they shou'd be,
Broke off their servile chain, and set 'em free.

When ye a while, with zeal for Britain's clime,
Pleas'd have liv'd o'er that sacred point of time;
And when a while, as due to William's fame,
The gladden'd heart has glow'd at William's name:

Behold! the swift-wing'd hours which know no
stay,
Thro' circling years roll round the present day:

At the great Æra heav'n is pleas'd to smile,
And pour new blessings on Britannia's isle;
Gives a new Nassau; that the Pow'r above
Which sav'd us once by arms, might bless us
once by love.

Raise, Britain's genius, smiling raise thy
head,

Gay as Aurora from Tithonus' bed:
Tho' wasteful war the nations round alarms,
You smile serene, nor heed the clang of arms:
Tho' they may feel oppression's grinding chain,
Your peace and freedom speak a Brunswick's
reign:

And that thy blissful circle may be crown'd,
Hymen and Love diffuse their joys around.

O thou propitious day! to Britons dear,
As thou return'st with each revolving year,
Still may'st thou find a Brunswick ruling here.
Still may'st thou find, as now, Britannia proud
The seat of liberty, of peace, and love.

Petronius's Advice to the Roman
Youth.

WHoe'er with gen'rous ardour burns to know,
The honours which from erudition flow,
To temp'rance must a strict observance pay,
And all her laws religiously obey.
He ne'er must on the smiles of sov'reigns wait,
Nor the luxurious tables of the great:
Ne'er in the joys of wine indulge his soul,
Nor drown his genius in the circling bowl:
Nor taint the blossoms of his early age,
With the infectious softness of the stage.
But wheresoe'er the Muse his youth embowers,
Or whether in Tritonia's lofty towers,
Or where the Spartan tills the laughing plain,
Or warbling Syrens chant the heav'nly strain;
Let poetry his happy soul engage,
And Homer's fountain drench his bloom of age.
Next, when Socratic draughts have fir'd each
Let his bold hand indulge a freer rein, [vein,
And dauntless shake the mighty spear and shield,
Which great Demosthenes was us'd to wield.
Nor must you fail, suffus'd with Grecian sense,
To taste the flow of Roman eloquence.
Sometimes the buskin'd muse your fame may raise,
And sound a sweet vicissitude of praise:
Or with th' historic page, prolong the feast,
Whilst rising empires furnish the repast:
Or bid unconquer'd Tully's thunders roll.
When arts like these have dignify'd your soul,
Pierian streams shall ev'ry vein extend,
And from your tongue all Helicon descend.

Verses written by the famous Mon-
sieur de Voltaire, upon King Sta-
nislav's Election.

TO the fierce off-spring of the north a king
Compatriot heroes meet to give by voice;
Russian and German eagles mount on wing,
Poland to menace, and o'er-rule her choice.

Virtue

Virtue from France, her country, and her throne,
On Warsaw's crowded plains descending shone.
Mars guides her steps; Vienna shakes dismay'd;
Poland the Goddess on her knees ador'd.
For Mars, and me, O people, born, she say'd,
Still from my hands receive your destin'd lord.
That moment, Stanislaus, led by fame,
Arriv'd, appear'd, elected, king became.

An Epigram in Praise of modern Unanimity.

BURLEIGH and Walsingham, in former days,
For skill in politicks obtain'd loud praise.
But various sects arose, and party-zeal
Molested peace, and rent the common-weal.
At length a genius blunder'd out the way
To heal divisions and our feuds allay.
Hail wond'rous man! who can all sects unite.—
Unite them!--How?--to hate and scorn the knight.

To a Politick Cit.

TO bring thee custom, Dick, thy wife is made
To flaunt it in thy shop in gay brocade;
And on each heedless passenger to try
The am'rous efforts of her ogling eye:
By this you'll get no custom, silly elf,
For thy dear spouse will get it all herself.

A SONG.

I.

THE lass that would know how to manage
her man,
Let her listen and learn it from me;
His courage to quell, or his heart to trapan,
As the time and occasions agree,
As the time and occasions agree, agree.

II.

The girl, that has beauty, tho' small be her wit,
May wheedle the fool, or the beau,
The rake may repel, or may draw in the cit
By the use of that pretty word No, No, No.
By the use, &c.

III.

When powder'd toupes in crowds round her chat,
Each striving his passion to shew,
With kiss me and love me, my dear, and all that,
Let her answer be still No, No, No.
Let her answer, &c.

IV.

When a dose is contriv'd to lay virtue asleep,
A present, a treat, or a ball,
She still must refuse, if her empire she'd keep,
And No be her answer to all,
And No be, &c.

V.

But when Master Dapperwit offers his hand
Her partner in wedlock to go;
An house, and a coach, and a jointure in land;
She's an idiot, if then she says No, No, No.
She's an idiot, &c.

VI.

When'er she's attack'd by a youth full of charms,
Whose courtship proclaims a man,

When press'd to his bosom, and clasp'd in his arms,
Then let her say No if she can,
Then let her say No if she can.

Some Doggrel Stanza's, humbly in-
scrib'd to C——y C——r, Esq;
on his inimitable, incomprehensible
Odes.

SURE, C——y, ere your odes you sing,
In Lethe's streams you dip ye;
And drink of that damn'd puddled spring,
Instead of Aganippe.
Your jilting muse hence turns thy verse
To doggrel 'stead of lyric;
And when you'd Brunswick's fame rehearse,
Quite spoils your panegyric.
Of late you sung of Britain's ease:
Then drums and bombs came after:
This medley, C——, all did please,
For this mov'd all to laughter.
But tho', my dear unmeaning elf,
With laugh thy odes now pass us,
Anon—'en Durfey, Sir, himself,
Will scourge you round Parnassus.
And while like hunted devil you run,
Each rhyming fiend will hollow;
Not even pitied by a son,
Or bastard of Apollo.
Each wretch, who word with word cou'd chime,
With birch will twinge thy jacket:
And he who ever made a rhyme,
Will never spare your placket.
In vain you'll plead a taking play:
For nonsense prov'd they'll slash ye—
'Your odes' they'll cry—then more you say,
The more the elves will lash ye—
Nor, C——y, here, shall end thy woes,
Thou'lt have another quarrel,
Bellmen will tweak thee by the nose,
And strip thee of thy laurel.

Dr. Swift to a Friend, who ask'd
him which were his favourite
Furniture.

THE furniture that best doth please
St. Patrick's dean, good Sir, are these;
The knife and fork, with which I eat,
And next the pot that boils the meat;
The next to be prefer'd, I think,
Is the glass in which I drink;
The shelves on which my books I keep,
And the bed in which I sleep;
An antique elbow chair between,
Big enough to hold the dean;
And the stove that gives delight,
In the cold bleak wintry night;
To these we add a thing below,
More for use reserv'd than show:
These are what the dean do please,
All superfluous are but these.

To Mr. Tho. Bourne, Master of
Leek School.

AID me ye powers in this, convey me hence
To some blest'd unknown heav'nly state;
from whence

Poets divinely great, are ever taught
To glow, with extasy seraphic fraught.
Where the harmonious sisters sacred dwell:
Where Homer learn'd Ilion's just doom to tell:
Where Tully lay entranc'd; that font of wit:
Where Milton labour'd, and where Virgil writ:
There would I go. There would I be inspir'd,
And listen to those pow'rs that Waller fir'd:
There amongst choirs of crowding heroes mix'd,
By Dryden's awful shade attentive fix'd,
Made pure, my muse for you should sound her lays,
Through worlds ætherial echo forth your praise:
Thousands should view me mount, and in my
way,

All your resplendent merits should display,
Through realms imperial, and eternal day.
Friendship nor urges me these rites to pay,
Nor flattery, that base plebeian way;
From no such venal, impure fountains flow
These tributary trophies to your brow;
By gratitude alone am I inspir'd,
By justice prompted, and by merit fir'd.

Lo!—Where I see amongst the gods a throng
Of bards exalted by the Roman tongue.
But who taught me such distant bliss to view,
Or hear such heav'nly harmony, but you?
Your hand first till'd the rudiments of wit,
Taught me how Ovid charm'd, and Horace writ:
Homer's bewitching beauties have I heard,
And in each Iliad bug'd the Grecian bard.
You ev'ry classic lustre did display,
And arm'd my youth against the op'ning day;
Watch'd my endeavours with paternal joy,
And ever view'd me with a father's eye.
And shall I now forget how much I owe?
Shall springs forget the fountains whence they flow?
Or shall the wretch in record grateful stand,
Restor'd to fight, nor own the healing hand?
Take these then, take an earnest I am grate,
The utmost present of my present state. [kind,
Receive this pledge till heav'n's shall prove more
And raise my power equal to my mind.

H. C.

The Confession. By Mr. T-s R--l--t.

TOM Ramble, a rake of true catholic hope,
Who rely'd on salvation, thro' faith—in
the pope,
Having been to the fair a little too true;
And borrow'd from God, to give woman her due,
With a qualm of contrition, one morning was taken:
(And conscience declaring 'twas high time to
reckon)

His steps to a convent the gallant address'd,
To pour his transgressions in Dominick's breast;

He rent his lac'd ruffles, disgrac'd his toupee;
He broke his cutteau, and he fell on his knee;
O father, lost rest to a sinner restore;
These pieces are many, my trespasses more:
Thus saying, a purse from his pocket he loos'd;
Which, ey'd by the fryar, this answer produc'd:

Son, trust our good mother, she'll ever confer
Indulgence on those who're indulgent to her.
Let indigent wretches be scar'd for their souls;
The church has remission—whilst you have
pistoles:

The gate of her mercy to all is unbarr'd;
To all, I wou'd mean, who come duely prepar'd.
A shepherdess harmless and young, I betray'd;
I found her, ah! wou'd I had left her a maid:
Untaught as the lambs, which she watch'd on
the common,

Allur'd by this purse, I made her a woman.
This bought the repentance; this bought the delight;
Take, take, holy father, the fiend from my sight.

The Pater obey'd, and took charge of the booty:
Obedience, you know, was a branch of his duty;
So was poverty too, yet, aurum accepit:
Why sure you don't think, his intent was to keep it!
But (lest a bad tale by its length be made worse)
The fryar well weighing the case—of the purse:
I find not, faith he, any cause for alarm;
You instructed the ignorant; where was the
harm?

The charms of a widow my soul did surprise;
Unparallel'd her grief; unparallel'd her eyes;
No second enjoyment she'd sworn to allow;
I kiss'd off her tears, and oh! cancell'd her vow.

Meer charity, son, had oblig'd you to this;
To comfort the widow was sure not amiss.

An Huguenot's consort fell next in my snare;
By force I subdu'd the untractable fair:
Her husband intruded; he fell in the strife:
I stripp'd her of honour, and him of his life.
Pish, let not such trifles your mind incommode;
To take from an Heretick's giving to God.
To a beautiful Nun, I my flame did reveal
She open'd her heart, and she open'd her cell,
She open'd—O heavens!—Damnation
and hell!

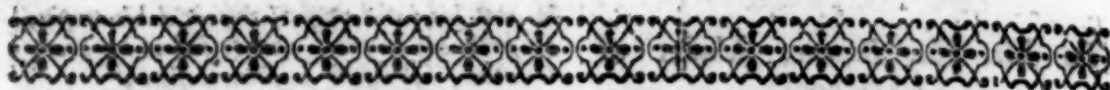
Mark, mark it in black, O ye sacred recorders,
What, lie with a Nun, and not be in orders!
That one deadly sin exceeds all the * seven,
'Tis robbing the church, and that's robbing
of heav'n:
'Tis that damnable error which can't be
forgiv'n.

Not vigil, not off'ring can atone for your evil;
Down, down to perdition, down, down to the
devil.

Away crept the Gallant; away crept the Monk:
This sneak'd to his porridge, and that to his punk.

* Alluding to the seven deadly Sins in the
Popish Liturgy.

The



The GENTLEMAN'S Monthly Intelligencer.

NOVEMBER, 1733.

SATURDAY, Nov. 3.



Proclamation was publish'd, proroguing the Parliament from the 15th of this Instant to *Thursday* the 17th of *January* next, when it is to sit for the Dispatch of divers weighty and important Affairs.

MONDAY, 5.

His Excellency the Count de Montijo, Ambassador-Extraordinary from his *Catholic* Majesty, receiv'd a Courier from his Court, and the next Day had a private Audience of the King; wherein it is said he acquainted his Majesty with the King his Master's Resolution of sending some Troops, in Conjunction with those of his most *Christian* Majesty, against the Emperor's Dominions; with Assurances of his Majesty's good Friendship to his Royal Person and this Nation, and of the Sense he has of his *Britannick* Majesty's good Offices to prevent the Rupture between the Court of *Spain* and that of *Vienna*.

His Majesty has order'd 1000*l.* per *Ann.* to be paid out of the Civil List, and 1000*l.* per *Ann.* to be taken off the Lord Chancellor's Salary, to increase the Salary of the L. Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench* to 4000*l.* per *Ann.* for ever.

WEDNESDAY, 7.

This Day about 12 at Noon, his Highness the Prince of *Orange* arriv'd at *Greenwich* on board the *Fubbs* Yacht, attended by *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; who immediately dispatch'd one of his Majesty's Messengers to the *Tower*, to know if the proper Preparations were made there for the Reception of his Highness; and he returning with Advice, that the Lord *Lovelace* and Sir *Clement Cottrel* were waiting there to receive the Prince, and conduct him to *Somerset-House*, his Highness proceeded in one of his Majesty's Barges to the *Tower*, where he arriv'd about 3 in the Afternoon. As soon as his Highness landed upon *Tower-*

Wharf, he was receiv'd by the Governor of the *Tower*. Then his Highness was taken up in one of the King's Coaches, and conducted thro' the City, with loud Acclamations, to *Somerset-House*, attended by the Lord *Lovelace*, *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; and Sir *Clement Cottrel*.

His Highness immediately notify'd his Arrival to the Royal Family, and presently afterwards receiv'd the King's Compliments by his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*, and those of the Queen by the Earl of *Grantbam*; his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* sent his by the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, and about Six in the Evening, *Stephen Poyntz*, Esq; Governor to his Royal Highness the Duke, waited upon him with that Prince's Compliments also.

THURSDAY, 8.

This Day at Noon the Lord Chancellor, and all the Foreign Ambassadors, waited on his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, to compliment him on his Arrival in *England*. About Two, his Highness, conducted by Sir *Clement Cottrel*, Master of the Ceremonies, went to *St. James's* in one of his Majesty's Coaches, and was receiv'd upon the Stair-Cafe by the Dukes of *Grafton*, *Montagu*, *Newcastle* and *Richmond*, and Sir *Robert Walpole*; after which he was conducted by the Lord Chamberlain to the King's Apartment, where his Majesty receiv'd him in a most tender and affectionate Manner; his Highness was afterwards conducted by the Earl of *Grantbam*, attended by several Persons of Quality, to her Majesty's Apartment, where he was introduced to the Queen, the Princess Royal, and the other Princesses; his Highness was afterwards conducted by Sir *Clement Cottrel* to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, and then to the Duke, to whom having paid his Compliments, he came back to the Queen's Apartments, and staid till about half an Hour after Three, when he return'd to *Somerset-House*. The same Day the Dukes of *Grafton*, *Montagu*, *Newcastle* and *Devonshire*, had the Honour to dine with his Highness; and

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and between Six and Seven at Night, his Highness went incognito to *St. James's*, and sup'd with their Majesties and the Royal Family, and return'd to *Somerset-House* between Eleven and Twelve.

SATURDAY, 10.

This Morning the *Dutch* Merchants of this City, between 60 and 70 in Number, headed by *Sir Matthew Decker*, Bart. went in Procession, in about 40 Coaches of their own, to *Somerset-House*, to wait on the Prince of *Orange*; and being introduc'd to his Highness, the Rev. M. *Harman Vanbroecht*, a *Dutch* Episcopal Minister, and Pastor of the great *Dutch* Church in *Austin-Fryars*, made on this Occasion a very elegant Speech in the Name of the Congregation, congratulating his Highness on his happy Arrival here, and on his approaching Marriage with the Princess Royal. His Highness return'd them Thanks in a very courteous Answer; and at taking Leave, they invited him to the *Dutch* Church.

SUNDAY, 11.

Accordingly, on this Day, his Highness, attended by M. *Hep*, the *Dutch* Envoy, and several Persons of Distinction, went to the *Dutch* Church in *Austin-Fryars*, and was received at the Door by their Elders, who conducted him to a Pew which was prepared in a very grand Manner for his Reception, several eminent Merchants and Gentlemen paying their Compliments to him as he pass'd: His Highness had not been there above half an Hour before he was taken very ill, and return'd immediately to *Somerset-House*: Where he continued much indispos'd to the End of the Month; which occasion'd the Marriage to be put off some Time longer.

SUNDAY, 18.

This Morning an Incendiary Letter was found under the Threshold of the House of *Limbuwait Farrant*, Esq; in *Great Knight-riders-street* in *Docters Commons*, threatening that if he did not leave ten Guineas (lapt up in a Paper) in a Hole made between two Bricks, under the Office of Mr. *Brian Rusworth*, Register of the Arches, which was mark'd with two Chalks for that Purpose, that they would burn his House down to the Ground, and that if he escaped the Flames, they would shoot him whenever they had Convenience so to do.

Baron *Starke*, Envoy-Extraordinary from the Duke of *Holslein Gottorp*, has begun to negotiate about a Marriage between his Master and her Royal Highness the Princess *Amelia*.

FRIDAY, 23.

The following Ships of War were put into Commission, viz. The Princess *Caroline*, Capt. *Garlington*; *Torbay*, Capt. *Piercy*; *Cornwall*, Capt. *Vanbrugh*; *Lancaster*, Capt. *Coleman*; *Kent*, Capt. *Robinson*; *Ipswich*, Capt. *Hook*; *Lenox*, Capt. *Cayley*; *Hampton*.

Court, Capt. *Migbells*; *Revenge*, Capt. *Trevor*; *Orford*, Capt. *Man*.

WEDNESDAY, 28.

His Highness the Prince of *Orange* is so well recover'd from his late Indisposition, that on this Day he receiv'd the Compliments of the Nobility, &c. at *Somerset-House*.

THURSDAY, 29.

The Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor resign'd the Seals, which were by his Majesty given to the Right Hon. *Charles Talbot*, Esq; his Majesty's Solicitor-General, who was before sworn of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

Mr. *Hildrop*, of *Marlborough*, presented to the Rectory of *Maulden* in *Bedfordshire*, by the Lord *Bruce*.

Mr. *Samuel Collins*, by *Edward Conyers*, Esq; to the Vicarage of *Walthamstow*, in the County of *Essex* and Diocese of *London*.

Dr. *Buckley*, by the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul's*, to the Living of the New Church of *St. Luke*, in the Lordship of the Parish of *St. Giles's*, *Cripplegate*.

Mr. *Price*, chosen Lecturer of the said Parish.

Mr. *Gibbon*, Curate of *St. Christopher's*, unanimously chosen Lecturer of that Church, in the room of Mr. *Cooper*, deceas'd.

Mr. *Heyling*, M. A. and Rector of *St. Mary's* in the *Strand*, and Mr. *Thomas*, M. A. Rector of *St. Anne's*, *Westminster*, sworn in Chaplains in Ordinary to his Majesty.

Mr. *Edward Gregory*, M. A. collated, by the Archbishop of *York*, to a Prebend in the Collegiate Church of *Southwell*, in the County of *Nottingham* and Diocese of *York*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* conferr'd the Degree of Doctor in Divinity upon Mr. *John Baron*, M. A. Dean of *Norwich*.

A Commission pass'd the Seals for Dr. *Holdsworth*, S. T. P. Rector of *Gatton* in *Surrey* (to which he was presented by *William Newland*, Esq;) to hold the Rectory of *Chalfont St. Peter's* near *Uxbridge*, together with the former.

Mr. *Watson*, A. M. Curate of *Whit-Church* in *Salop*, and Chaplain to the Bishop of *Hereford*, made one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral of *Hereford*.

Mr. *Jonathan Adow* presented to the Living of *St. Andrew*, in *Cornwall*, vacant by the Death of the late Mr. *Tim. Bedford*, worth about 180 l. per Ann.

Mr. *Crank*, formerly Fellow of *Trinity College* in *Oxford*, unanimously chosen Preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

Sir *Philip York*, late Attorney-General, made a Serjeant at Law, and Lord Chief Justice.

586 MARRIAGES, &c. in NOVEMBER, 1733.

Justice of the *King's-Bench*, in the room of the Lord *Raymond*, deceased.

General *Sutton*, appointed Governor of the Island of *Guernsey*, in the room of the late Earl of *Suffolk*.

The Hon. *John Fitz Williams*, Esq; Brother to the Countess of *Pembroke*, to be a Cornet in his Majesty's own Royal Regiment of Horse, commanded by the Earl of *Pembroke*, in the room of Capt. *Bombow*, made Capt. Lieut. in the said Regiment.

Capt. *Tracey*, Son to the late Judge *Tracey*, promoted to the Post of a Lieutenant in the Foot-Guards.

Capt. *Bendish*, late of General *Gore's* Dragoons, promoted to the Command of a Company in General *Sabine's* Regiments of Foot, in the room of Capt. *Petit*, who resign'd.

Mr. *James Brouse*, Citizen and Felt-maker, chosen by a very great Majority, Steward of *St. Thomas's* Hospital.

The Hon. Mr. *John Sinclair*, Brother-in-Law to the Earl of *Caithness*, appointed one of the Ordinary Lords of Session at *Edinburgh*, in the room of Sir *William Calderwood*, of *Polton*, deceased.

Capt. *Goodyer*, appointed Commander of the *Shoreham*, lately put in Commission.

The Rev. Mr. *Crumph*, third Master of *St. Paul's* School, chosen by the Court of Assistants of the *Mercer's* Company, by a Majority of one Voice, Head Master of the said School, in the room of Mr. *Moreland*, deceased.

His Majesty was pleased to create the Right Hon. Sir *Philip York*, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*, a Baron of Great Britain, by the Name, Style and Title of Baron *Hardwicke*, of *Hardwicke* in the County of *Gloucester*.

His Majesty was pleased to grant to *John Collier*, Gent. and to *James Collier*, his Son, the Office of Usher and Cryer of the Court of *King's-Bench* at *Westminster*, in the room of *Richard Colinge* and *William Colinge*, Gentlemen, deceased.

Charles Bowles, Esq; Son of *William Bowles*, of *Windsor*. Esq; made Prothonotary to the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, a Place worth 600*l.* per Ann.

Mr. *Rambouillet*, appointed Gentleman Usher to her Royal Highness the Princess Royal.

John Collier, Esq; appointed Surveyor General of the Riding Officers of the Customs in the County of *Kent*.

Capt. Lieutenant *Bell*, appointed Captain of Grenadiers, in Col. *Harrison's* Regiment, now quarter'd in the North of *England*.

kings, Bart. and one of the Daughters of Sir *John Stonehouse*, Bart. deceased, late Knight of the Shire for the County of *Berks*.

Dudley Ryder, Esq; Member of Parliament for *St. Germans*, to Miss *Newnham*, eldest Daughter of Mr. *Newnham* of *Streatham*.

Mynheer Blosser, a Gentleman of Dutch Extraction, to a young Lady of 30,000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. *John Winder*, to Miss *Sally Pitts*, of *Pater-noster-row*.

Mr. *Robert Thornton*, one of the Directors of the Bank, to the Sister of *Charles Newby*, near *Doncaster*, Esq; a Lady of great Fortune.

The Countess of *Albemarle*, safely delivered of a Daughter.

Mrs. *Vanfittart*, of *Great Ormond-street*, Sister to the Lord *Gower's* Lady, and Daughter to the late Sir *John Stonehouse*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Berks*; safely deliver'd of a Son.

DEATHS.

Major *John Webb*, Governor of *Upnor-Castle*, and the other Forts on the River *Medway*; also Store-keeper of the King's Magazine of Powder at *Upnor-Castle*, and one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of *Kent*.

The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Davis*, who some Time since assum'd the Name of *Povey*, coming then possess'd of an Estate of 1,500*l.* per Ann. formerly belonging to Sir *Ralph Povey*, of *Stow*, in *Cambridgeshire*. He was Rector of *Little Hollingbury*, in *Essex*, worth about 200*l.* per Ann.

The celebrated Miss *Frances Arabella Kelley*, Daughter of *Dennis Kelley*, Esq; of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

John Bincks, Esq; a Justice of the Peace for *Middlesex*.

Ralph Sneyd, Esq; who represented the County of *Stafford* in the last Parliament call'd by *Q. Anne*.

The Rev. Mr. *Fordham*, Minister of *Shaffham* in the County of *Flint*.

Mr. *Boone*, eldest Son of Governor *Boone*, Member of Parliament for *Luggershall* in *Wilt.*

Thomas Lascelles, Esq;

The Lady of Sir *George Walters*, at his Seat at *Worcester-Park* near *Epsom* in *Surrey*.

Col. *Groves*, an old experienc'd Officer belonging to the Army.

Sir *James Ash*, whose Estate of 4000*l.* per Ann. and a great Sum of Money, falls to his Son-in-Law *Joseph Windham*, Esq; a Wholesale Linnen-Draper in *Austin-Fryars*.

John Hanks, Esq; formerly in the Commission of the Peace for *Surrey*.

The Countess of *Plymouth*, Mother to the present Earl of *Plymouth*, and Daughter to *Thomas*

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

The Right Hon. the Lord *Gower*, married to the Lady *Atkins*, Relict of Sir *Henry At-*

DEATHS, &c. in NOVEMBER, 1733. 587

Thomas Lewis of Soberton in Hants, Esq; Member of Parliament for New Sarum, and a Candidate for the Town of Portsmouth at the next Election.

The Right Hon. David Boyle, Earl of Glasgow.

John Spelman, Esq; Warden of his Majesty's Forests.

Sir Tho. Miller, Bart. at his Seat at Havant, near Chichester.

Mrs Mary Andrews, only Daughter of the Lady Andrews, of Southampton-street, Bloomsbury-Square, Relict of the late Sir Francis Andrews, Bart.

The Lady Windsor, Wife of the Lord Viscount Windsor, and Baron of Montjoy. She was sole Daughter and Heir to Philip Earl of Pembroke, and Relict of John Lord Jefferies.

Mrs Vernon, Daughter of Counsellor Vernon.

Tho. Hornby, Esq; near Old Windsor.

Philip Moreau, Esq; at Knightsbridge, possessed of an Estate of near 50,000*l*. The Bulk of his Estate devolves to his only Son James Philip Moreau, Esq; He has left 5000*l*. to his Daughter, Elizabeth Hubert, Relict of Col. Hubert; and 5000*l*. to his Grandson, Alexander Hubert, Esq; besides 1000*l*. to Christ's-Hospital, and 300*l*. to the Poor of Knightsbridge.

The Lady Tyravley, Mother to the Lord Tyravley, a Peer of Ireland.

The Rev. Dr. Littleton, Fellow of Eaton-College, Rector of Maple-Durham, in the County of Berks, and one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to his Majesty.

The Lady Parker, Wife of Sir Henry Parker, Bart. who married her from Chelsea Boarding-School in the Year 1728, at 14 Years of Age.

Her Grace the Dutchess of Ormond, in the 68th Year of her Age, second Wife of James, late Duke of Ormond: She was the eldest surviving Daughter of Henry Duke of Beaufort, by his Wife Mary, Daughter of the Lord Capel, beheaded in 1648, Sister to Arthur, Earl of Essex, and Relict of Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, Son of William, Marquis of Hertford.

Mr. Liffmore, an eminent Stone-Cutter and Master-Builder, possessed of an Estate of 1500*l*. per Ann.

Thomas Mackland, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Kent.

Samuel Beachcroft, Esq; one of the Ne-

phews of the late Sir Robert Beachcroft, Knt. Alderman of this City.

Tho. Maynard of Worcestershire, Esq; by whose Death an Estate of 700*l*. per Ann. devolves to his eldest Sister, Wife of ——— Gonsen, of Eversholt in Bedfordshire, Esq;

Anne the Wife of John Barlow, of Colby in Pembrokeshire, Esq; She was eldest Daughter to the late Lord Viscount Harcourt.

Sir Charles Gounter Nicball, Knight of the most Hon. Order of the Bath, and Representative in Parliament for the Town of Peterborough.

Thomas Whittons, of Whittlesea, in the Isle of Ely, and County of Cambridge, Esq;

Capt. John Waters at Hammer-smith, in the 94th Year of his Age. He was in all the late Wars with the Duke of Marlborough, and had the Misfortune to lose one of his Legs by a Cannon Ball.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

Anna Tanner, of Abergawenny, in the County of Monmouth, Spinster and Mercer.

Arthur Pearson, of Elton, in the County of Huntingdon, Woolcomber.

David Thomson, of Bow-Lane, London, Carpenter and Joyner.

Alexander Bancroft, of St. Giles's Cripple-gate, Weaver.

Charles Robertson, late of Walbrook, London, Merchant, and now of Exchange Alley, London, Coffee-Man and Chapman.

Anne Heale, of Uxbridge, in Middlesex, Widow, and Joseph Heale, of Uxbridge aforesaid, Distillers and Partners.

John Rbenaldson, junr. of Layburne, in Yorkshire, Worsted-Maker.

James Fitzgerald, of the Parish of St. Clement Danes, in Middlesex, Victualler.

Thomas Jenepe, late of Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk, and now of Walsbam in the Willoves, in the said County, Grocer.

Isaac Knight, late of Bristol, Merchant, deceased.

Benjamin Turwile, of the Parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, Hosier.

Richard Smith, of Newbury, in Berks, Barge-Master and Chapman.

Francis Rudstone, late of Newcastle upon Tyne, Merchant and Alderman, and John Reed, late of the same Place, Merchant, and Partner.

FROM *Vienna*. The Court has received an Express from Prince *Philip* of *Hesse Darmstadt*, Governor of *Mantua*, with Advice that the *French* and *Piedmontese* Troops had already made themselves Masters of Part of the *Milanese*, and seemed to have a Design to march towards *Mantua*, either to besiege that Place, or to block it up: Whereupon the *Aulick* Council have dispatched fresh Orders to several Regiments in *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, to hasten their March to *Italy* as much as possible.

From *Paris*. The *French* Troops under the King of *Sardinia* have taken *Tortona*, *Novara*, *Pavia*, and the City of *Milan*, the Castle whereof they have blocked up, and are attacking the Castle of *Picighitone*. The *Spanish* Fleet, with 25,000 Men on board, sailed the 4th Instant.

From the Camp at *Massaro* in *Italy*, Nov. 12. The King of *Sardinia* set out the 7th from *Pavia*, and lay that Night at the Camp at *St. Christine*; on the 8th his Majesty march'd at the Head of his Army, and encamp'd at *Chignolle*, near *St. Colombau*; on the 9th at *Cadagne*, and on the 10th arriv'd within a League of *Picighitone*, which was that Morning invested just below the River *Adda*, by the Marquis de *Maillebois*, Lieutenant General for the Day, whilst the Army spread itself along the Plain, between the upper and lower Part of the River: They are actually at Work on settling Bridges of Communication on the said River, after which three Brigades of Infantry at least, with some Cavalry, will pass, to invest the Town on the other Side.

From *Vienna*. 'Tis assured that Prince *Eugene* will go to command the Army next Spring in *Italy*, and the Court reckons to have a sufficient Number of Forces there by that Time, not only to stop the Progress of the Enemy, but retake all they shall make themselves Masters of this Winter.

From *Milan*, Nov. 22. Our last Advices from *Picighitone*, assure us, that the besieg'd defend themselves with great Bravery; that they have already made above 400 Discharges of their Cannon upon the Enemy, and have kill'd and wounded a great Number; the latter of which are constantly convey'd away to the Hospital of *Lodi*. The *French* Troops here have oblig'd the City to supply them with a vast Quantity of Wood, Cattle and Forage; they have also made a Demand of 100,000 *Philippi's*.

From the same Place. The Citadel of this City is closely block'd up; 'tis thought however that the Garrison will not wait to be reduced by Famine. The Marquis de *Visconti*, the Governor, died Yesterday. The City of *Mantua* is actually besieg'd: That of *Picighitone* holds out to a Miracle.

From the *Escurial*. On the 3d. Mr. *Keene*, the *English* Minister, had an Audience of their Catholick Majesties, wherein he pressed the Acceptance of an Accommodation which the King of *Great Britain* had proposed, for putting an End to all Differences: But the King roundly answer'd him, that he was infinitely obliged to the King of *England* for the great Pains he had taken, and should always gratefully remember them; but that he was concerned to say, he could not at present give his Britannick Majesty the Satisfaction he desired, the Emperor's Resolution being come too late.

From the *Hague*. Their High-Mightinesses have put an End to their Guardianship, declared the Prince of *Orange* of Age, and ordain'd that he shall be put into immediate Possession of his own Domains, as well as the King of *Prussia*, pursuant to the Treaty of Partition made between his Majesty and his serene Highness.

From *Dantzick*. King *Stanislaus* appears very melancholy since the last Advice that he received by a Courier from the Palatine of *Kiow*, by which Express the said General gave his Majesty to understand, that the *Saxon* Troops were entered *Poland*, and that the *Russians*, as well as the Party of King *Augustus*, increases daily. The News of the Defeat of the *Russian* Troops by the *Lithuanians* and *Tartars* is a Piece forged here, and none of the Letters from *Poland* make any Mention thereof.

From *Vienna*. The States of *Lower Austria* opened their Assembly, with the usual Formalities: Count *Sinzendorff*, Great Chamberlain of the Court, delivered to them the Emperor's Demands, and backed them with a Speech suitable to the present Posture of Affairs: He told them, among other Things, That as desirous as his Imperial Majesty had always shewn himself to maintain the Peace of *Europe*, he found himself obliged to make a considerable Augmentation of his Forces, in order to baffle the Designs of his Enemies, who had unexpectedly invaded with an open Force not only his Imperial Majesty's hereditary Provinces, but also those of the holy Roman Empire, &c.

Prices of Goods, &c. in NOVEMBER, 1733: 589

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 73 $\frac{1}{4}$, 73 $\frac{1}{4}$	Afric. 25
-Bonds 2s. Prem.	Royal Aff. 91
-Annu. 94 $\frac{1}{4}$, 99 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lon. ditto 11 $\frac{1}{3}$
Bank 131 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	Y. Build.
-Circ. 20s. Prem.	3 p. C. An. 91
Mil. Bank 110	Eng Copper 1l. 15s.
India 136 $\frac{1}{2}$, 136 $\frac{1}{3}$	Welsh dit. 17s.
-Bonds 14s	

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 10	Bilboa 40 $\frac{1}{8}$
D. Sight 35 7 a 8	Leghorn 50 $\frac{1}{8}$
Rotter. 35 11	Genoa 53 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
Hamb. 35 5 a 6	Venice 49 $\frac{1}{2}$
P. Sight 32 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lisb. 5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{3}{8}$
Bourdauf 30 $\frac{1}{4}$	Oport. 5 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cadiz 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	Antw. 36 6
Madrid 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$	Dublin 12 $\frac{1}{4}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 23 28	Oates 10 12
Rye 13 14	Tares 18 23
Barley 14 16	Pease 20 22
H. Beans 14 19	H. Pease 16 19
P. Malt 17 20	B. Malt 16 18

Prices of Goods, &c. in London. Hay 34s. to 36s. a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 24 to 25	Sugar Powder best 54 a 59s.
New Hops per Hun. 4l. a 5l.	Ditto second Sort 46s. 50
Old Hops 3l. 10s. to 4l.	Loaf Sugar doubleres. 8d. half a 9d.
Rape Seed 10 a 11	Ditto single refine 56s. a 64s.
Lead the Fodder 19 Hun. 1 half	
on board, 14 a 14l. 10s.	
Tin in Blocks 3l. 18	
Ditto in Bars 4l.	
Copper Eng. best 5l. 5s.	
Ditto ordinary 4l. 16s. a 5l.	
Ditto Barbary 85 a 95l.	
Iron of Bilboa 15l. 5s. per Ton.	
Ditto of Sweden 16l. 10s.	
Tallow 30s. a 31	
Country Tallow 30s.	
Cochineal 20s.	

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Raisins of the S. 32s.
Ditto Malaga Frailes 28s.
Ditto Smirna new 22s.
Ditto Alicant 20s.
Ditto Lipra new 21s.
Ditto Belvedere 22s.
Currents 44s.
Prunes French none
Figs 20s.

Grocery Wares by the lb.

Cinamon 7s. 8d.
Cloves 9s. 1d.
Mace 15s. od.
Nutmegs 8s. 7d.
Sugar Candy white 14d. a 18d.
Ditto brown 6d.
Pepper for home consump. 16d.
Ditto for Exportation 12d.
Tea Bobea fine 10s. a 12s.
Ditto ordinary 9 a 10s.
Ditto Congo 10 a 14s.
Ditto Pekoe 14 a 16s.
Ditto Green fine 9 a 12s.
Ditto Imperial 9 a 12s.
Ditto Hyson 25 a 30s.

Drugs by the lb.

Balsam Peru 14s.
Cardamoms 3s. 6d.
Campfire refin'd 14s.
Crabs Eyes 1s. 8d.
Jallop 2s. 6d.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Oct. 23 to Nov 27.

Christned	{ Males 793 } 1536
	{ Females 743 }
Buried	{ Males 1171 } 2387
	{ Females 1216 }

Died under 2 Years old	882
Between 2 and 5	235
5 10	95
10 20	64
20 30	171
30 40	241
40 50	242
50 60	203
60 70	109
70 80	84
80 90	51
90 and upwards	10

2387

Manna 2s. 6d. a 4s.
Mastick white 4s. 6d.
Opium 9s.
Quicksilver 4s. od.
Rhubarb 16 a 18s.
Sarsaparilla 3s. od.
Saffron English 26s. 6d.
Wormseeds none
Balsam Copaiwa 2s. 9d.
Balsam of Gilead 20s.
Hypocacuanæ 5s. a 6
Ambergreece per oz. 8s.
Wine, Brandy, and Rum.
Oporto red per Pipe 32l. a 34l.
Ditto white none
Lisbon red 35 a 40l.
Ditto white 26 a 28l.
Sherry 26l.
Canary new 25 a 28l.
Ditto old 32 a 34l.
Florence 3l.
French red 30l. a 50l.
Ditto white 20l.
Mountain Malaga old 24l.
Ditto new 20 l. a 21
Brandy Fr. per Gal. 6s. a 6s. 8d.
Rum of Jam. 7s.
Ditto Low, Islands 6s. 4d. a 6s. 10d.

The

CLASSICAL.

* 1. **P.** Ovidii Nasonis Epistolarum Herodii Liber: Interpretatione & Notis illustravit Daniel Crispinus Helvetius; jussu Christianissimi Regis, ad Usus serenissimi Delphini; accessit Index locupletissimus. Venales prostant apud Bibliopolas, 8vo. price 4s.

2. A System of Rhetorick, in a Method entirely new; containing all the Tropes and Figures, necessary to illustrate the Classics, both poetical and historical. To render which more generally useful, the Whole is divided into two Parts: In the first of which, the Rules are given in *English*, in the second, in *Latin Verse*; below which are plac'd, proper Examples in each Language; and at the Bottom of each Page, are the Terms translated in the one, and their Derivations from the *Greek* in the other. By *John Starling*, M. A. pr. 4d. Printed for *T. Astley*. Of whom may be had (written by the same Author)

3. Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica; in ordinem Prosaicum disposita; una cum Vocabulario explicativo; Verborum Thematis, Regimine & Significatione; Scansionis Tabula, Hexametri Carminis Legibus, & quibusdam quæ occurrunt Figuris Rhetoricis. In Usus Juventutis, price 1s.

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